Unionist-Nationalism : The Historical Construction of Scottish National Identity, Edinburgh 1830-1860.

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I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of research and composition undertaken solely by myself

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Abstract

In this thesis the relationship between the British state and Scottish civil society is analysed for the mid-nineteenth century. Focussing on the 1830-1860 period, this thesis will attempt to re-conceptualise the state/civil society axis, around which the formation of national identity hangs. It will argue that the unitary British state gave powers to the local state and the urban bourgeoisie to an extent that Westminster was not the prime focus of 'governing' Scottish civil society. This notion of a bourgeoisie 'governing' the day-to-day institutions of Scottish civil society is central to understanding Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century. By demonstrating the range and the extent of bourgeois control over the city of Edinburgh, this thesis will explain the rationality behind this class's failure to move for parliamentary independence. By sustaining the argument that the bourgeoisie had the power to 'govern' without seeking a Scottish parliament, this thesis will challenge the dominant interpretation of nineteenth century Scottish national identity as being weak, romantic and characterised by tartanry and kailyard. By showing the irrelevance of Westminster to the state/civil society axis, this thesis will present a new reading of the rhetoric and symbols of Scottish national identity. The result, a Scottish nationalism which celebrated the parliamentary Union of 1707, will be shown to stem from the peculiar relationship between an empowered Scottish civil society and its shared British state in the mid-nineteenth century.

Contents

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Preface :
The aims and the structure of this thesis

The aim of this thesis is a simple one, and it has an argument to match. The construction of Scottish national identity in the mid-nineteenth century is the topic, the nature of the Victorian state is the focus. Nineteenth century Scottish nationalism has been castigated as weak, failing to produce a parliamentary political challenge. The European revolutions, set alight in 1848, missed Great Britain and a British/imperial agenda dominated Scottish affairs. This is the orthodoxy this thesis will challenge. From an analysis of the major expressions of Scottish national identity mid-century, it will be stressed that Scottish nationalism demanded equality with England within the Union of 1707. Strange as it may be to twentieth century eyes, the expression of Scottish nationalism supported the Union - it was 'Unionist-nationalism'. Nor was it weak for its lack of rhetoric of parliamentary independence. Unionist-nationalism was a rational response to the state/civil society relationship in the 1830-1860 period. The governing of Victorian society was local - the role of the central state was to empower the local state. Civil society was strong - where central or local government failed, the bourgeoisie intervened through a myriad of associations and voluntary societies, structuring class and power. The parliamentary state was effectively marginalised for this period in Victorian society, and this fundamentally shaped the construction of Scottish national identity. This is the simple argument - if the parliamentary state was not the relevant form of government for the state/civil society relationship, then the focus must shift to where 'government' was at its most critical - at the level of civil society. Unionist-nationalism will be shown to be the rational response to the governing of Scotland, 1830-60.

The structure of this thesis is equally straightforward. In chapter one, the nature of government in Great Britain will be explained. How much this 'state' emobodied a 'nation-state' will be questioned. The complexity inherent within the presumptive link between the 'British' state and the 'British people' will be demonstrated by a discussion on the historical background to Scottish nationalism since 1707. In chapter two, an economic and social analysis of the Victorian state will be presented. The aim of this chapter is to explain the dominance of local government over what was termed 'centralisation' in this period. Equally, this chapter will serve as an introduction to the power of the bourgeoisie within the institutions of 'public life'. Once the relevance of civil

society has been stressed, chapter three conducts a survey of recent literature on Scottish nationalism. It will argue against those theorists who regard nationalism as a political movement. It argues in favour of an analysis of contemporary interpretation of the symbols of national 'past'. It will demonstrate the malleability of these symbols, necessitating a focus on the hegemonic elite. The methodology which underpins this thesis is detailed in chapter four. Using Edinburgh as a case study, many sources are brought together to display the range of middle class influence over civil society. Nominal Record Linkage, centred around the Parliamentary pollbook for the 1852 election, is the methodology and its technical details are discussed. This chapter also explains the philosophy behind the occupational classifications used in this study, and explains how the analysis of civil society is structured around contemporary sources.

Once the methodology has been laid bare, the next three chapters demonstrate middle class influence in Edinburgh's everyday life. In chapter five, the political profile of the Edinburgh middle class at the 1852 general election is analysed, providing an understanding of the most influential sub-groups of this class. Following on from this analysis, chapter six maps the range and the functions of the associations and societies of mid-century Edinburgh. It shows their importance to the bourgeoisie for both inter- and intra- class consciousness. Chapter seven concludes the discussion of the governing of civil society through an empirical exercise detailing the most active in 'public life', dissecting the class background and subscriber activity of this group.

By this point it is possible to understand the expression of Scottish national identity in the 1830-1860 period. Chapter eight details the arguments and aims of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, which provided the most coherent critique of the Union of 1707 in this period. Chapter nine provides an analysis of the rhetoric of nationalism as displayed in the commemoration of four icons of Scotland's 'past' : Sir Walter Scott, Robert Burns, Sir William Wallace and King Robert Bruce. These two chapters recount the expression of Unionist-nationalism, and in conclusion the link is made between Unionist-nationalism and the bourgeois governing of civil society mid-century.

Chapter One
Introduction : Scottish national identity in a 'United' Kingdom

(I) Scottish National Identity : the unitary 'nation-state' no more

Scotland shares its state. The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland has a unitary state, but four distinct nations : England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. The Union of the Crowns between Scotland and England in 1603, and the Union of their Parliaments in 1707, brought the two geographically adjacent nations, peacefully, together under the title of Great Britain. The prefix 'Great' was to signify an enlargement in territorial boundaries, but came to symbolise the power of the first industrial nation and its empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Great Britain, along with France, has frequently been regarded both in popular consciousness and in the academic literature as the leading European examples of the unitary nation-state. Westminster, the mother of all parliaments, functioning within a British constitution so strong, so age-old, and with its built-in 'checks and balances', that it need not be written down, has been labelled the leading liberal democracy since 1688.

This perception of unitary nation-statehood has masked conflict within British national identity. To claim to be British is, suggest some, to claim neutrality or nothingness, and to deny loyalty to whichever of the four nations was the place of one's birth.[1] To others, the claim to be British is unproblematically the wider identity of those who are English. Walter Bagahot had no hesitation in writing about the *English* constitution.[2] Britain is the title of Englishmen abroad, it has been pointed out, but still there is no agreed colloquial name for the 'United Kingdom'.[3] Neil Evans has argued that to understand Welsh national identity, it cannot be done in terms of an increasing, and straightforwardly all-pervasive British identity, but instead as a relationship between local communities.[4] This recognition of the ambiguity in British national identity has led to an ever flowering literature on nationalism of the periphery : of Scottish, Welsh and Irish nationalisms, and until recently this has been to the detriment of nationalism of the centre.[5] This gap has started to be filled, and the England/Britain problematic is becoming centre stage.[6] Consider, for example, David Morse's attempt to provide an understanding of the concept of 'England' during the Victorian age. Morse stresses the centrality of the Scottish contribution to the English understanding of its own identity :

> "It was Hume and Mackintosh who laid the foundations for a modern history of England. It was Adam Smith who elaborated an economic theory that could serve as a framework for England's destiny as a trading nation. It was James Mill who in his classic History of British India (1818) mapped out Britain's future as an imperial power and legislator for mankind. It was Sir Walter Scott who in Ivanhoe produced the definitive myth of a proud Saxon race indomitably struggling against the Norman yoke. It was Thomas Carlyle who extended and developed this into a philosophy of the English character and a critique of industrialisation, and while Macaulay, who was perhaps the one single writer to produce a view of England that was more influential than Carlyle's, was not himself Scottish, was deeply influenced by the ideals of the Scottish Enlightenment, the foremost protégé of Francis Jeffrey at the Edinburgh Review from 1839 to 1847, and from 1852 to 1856 MP for Edinburgh itself."[7]

It is wrong, then, to analyse national identity in Britain as a case of increasing English/British homogenization. The conflicts of the centre are a response to nationalism of the periphery. This thesis is a contribution to nationalism of the periphery, of Scottish nationalism at the high point of British imperialism. It is a period which takes in 1848-9, the 'springtime of nationalism' in Europe. Throughout the Continent, self-determination for nations applied to those who were considered to be viable (culturally and especially economically), following Mazzini's "threshold principle".[8] These events have been treated as side-shows to the development of Scottish nationalism. There was for example no Scottish version of Young Ireland, responsible for a failed attempt at an armed rising in August 1848 in County Tipperary.[9] The great Whig historian and politician Macaulay accounted for the absence of an 1848 revolution in Britain, in a speech in Edinburgh in 1852, as being due to the British constitution :

> "...We owe this singular happiness, under the blessing of God, to a wise and noble constitution, the work of many generations of great men. ... And, gentlemen, pre-eminent among those pacific victories of reason and public opinion, the recollection of which chiefly, I believe, carried us safely through the year of counter-revolutions ... I speak of the great commercial reform of 1846, the work of Sir Robert Peel, and of the great parliamentary reform of 1832, the work of many eminent statesmen, among whom none was more conspicuous than Lord John Russell."[10]

Macaulay believed that by transferring power to the middle class, the fuel of revolution was dissipated. Although Quinault has recently disputed the calm in England, stressing the impetus the events of 1848 gave to the chartist movement[11], the stability of the state in mid-nineteenth century Britain has been accepted as 'England über alles'.[12]

The classical nation-state, which started to appear in late eighteenth century Europe and came into its own in the nineteenth century, was of one-state for one-nation within a geographically bounded territory. All classical nation-states, in contrast to traditional states, are sovereign states.[13] David Beetham points out that the classical nation-state was a suitable adaptation to the economic, military and political circumstances of this period. These states were established on free market economic success, being based upon a unified, national system of law, taxation and administration.[14] The *raison d'être* of the nation-state was of coherence between the people ('citizens'), and the state as government. Fundamental to the creation of this coherence and the strengthening of 'citizenship' of the nation-state, was the extension of the franchise. 'Citizen politics' refers to the extension of the franchise to all. This did not happen in Britain until the twentieth century, but with the 1832 Reform Act, it is argued, the British state side-stepped the problem of 'citizen politics' by limiting political rights to men of property and education.[15] Citizen politics was very limited in Britain during the nineteenth century, but it was this 1832 Act, and the reform of local government in 1833 (Scotland) and 1835 (England and Wales) which, in Macaulay's line of argument above, kept the supposed coherence in the relationship between the British people and their state.

But did it? The British state was formed in 1707, but it did not result in a *British* civil society. Each of the four nations became united under one state, but there was no single nation as a result, despite the banner 'United Kingdom'. 'Ukania' and 'Yookay' are how, respectively, Tom Nairn and Raymond Williams have highlighted the ambiguity within the supposed classical British nation-state.[16] The melting pot created by the unitary state produced many instances of Anglicisation in all the 'peripheral' kingdoms, and this was often quietly accepted as part and parcel of economic opportunity. But Anglisation, welcomed or otherwise, intentional or not, has never homogonised four civil societies into one. The Scottish 'holy trinity' of kirk, law and education, their independence guaranteed under the articles of the Union settlement of 1707, have long been regarded as the underpinning of a distinct Scottish civil society, one that the unitary state has not yet been able to capture. Indeed, Scotland's distinct civil society within the British state has been labelled by John P. Mackintosh as producing a 'dual nationality' - where the Scots can be British if they wish, or, if not, they can 'opt-out' and their identity can return to being a Scottish one.[17] If the Scots can maintain a dual identity, and the same is true for the Northern Irish and the Welsh, plus the ambiguity in notions of the concept of 'England', as the

quote above from Morse made clear, then the falsity of the conceptualisation of Great Britain as a unitary nation-state is plain.

The question now is how the state maintained a semblance of coherence between itself and a disparate peoples without an extension of the franchise to the working class, the bulk of the male population, until the third Reform Act in 1884, and without granting the vote to women, half the total population, until 1918. How did the British state, which Nairn has called almost 'pre-modern' because of its failure to bring the state, civil society and the nation into line[18] maintain its legitimacy? Political citizenship was absent for the majority, how then did the state *govern*?

David McCrone, drawing upon the work Michael Mann, has stressed the state's 'infrastructural power' - its ability to *govern*, by rule of law rather than by direct violence, as being central to classical nation-state formation.[19] Anthony Giddens has argued that all modern states are nation-states because they involve an apparatus of government laying claim to specific territories, possessing formalised codes of law, and are backed by the control of military force.[20] Infrastructural power is about governing from a distance, it is about maintaining social cohesion and the legitimacy of state power. The modern state embodies power, Giddens explains, not by absorbing civil society, but by guarding certain of the universal qualities upon which it is predicted. It is about enshrining the governing of civil society.[21] By underpining and empowering civil society, the modern state maintains the nation-state. But in Great Britain the state enshrined more than one civil society, there was no coherent British nation-state : it was the British state and four nations.

The exercise of the rule of law and the 'enshrining of civil society' are therefore fundamental to understanding the relationship between the British state and the 'British' people (in all their national guises). How *Scottish* society was governed is the focus of this thesis. The Victorian state guaranteed the institutions of all four civil societies, and individually and together they are the axis of nation-statehood, and therefore of national identity. An understanding of Scottish nationalism in the nineteenth century can only be reached in the context of this peculiar state/civil society axis in Scotland. Because political citizenship was absent for so many and for so much of the nineteenth century in Britain, this axis does not include parliamentary politics. The strength or not of Scottish nationalism cannot be examined as a movement demanding political citizenship rights (a Scottish parliament, say). The axis can only include an analysis of the relationship between Scottish civil society and the

experience of the British state's infrastructural power. It has already been pointed out that the unitary state failed to create a unitary civil society, and on this point Great Britain fails the test of classical nation-statehood. The everyday governing of society is the focus of this thesis and it will explain Scotland's supposed 'missing' nineteenth century nationalism.

(II) The Case of the Missing Nationalism : Scotland post-1707

It has been especially in the century up to the 1880s that Scottish nationalism has been regarded as weak and fragmented.[22] A national identity which has been castigated as being one that was stricken by kailyardism and seduced by Anglicisation. In the nineteenth century, so the argument goes, no-one has been more plagued by the fondness for warm cabbage, and no-one has been more tempted by the English apple, than the middle class of the Scottish lowlands. Lured by Empire and stunted beneath the shadow of eighteenth century Enlightenment, the Scottish middle class of the nineteenth century has been condemned. Its leaders, its writers, its thinkers, and above all else its culture, have been paraded as secondary, subservient and backward looking.[23]

It was because 'Scotland the nation' did not become 'Scotland the nation-state' that Scottish civil society has been perceived as weak. The literature of the kailyard was the most obvious manifestation of a society culturally infirmed through political acquiescence. However this is an argument loaded down by the assumption, quite reasonably at first sight perhaps, that a nation must have its own state for it to become a nation-state. As the previous section made clear, the legitimacy of the modern state was achieved through the exercise of infrastructural power, a form of government which ensured stability through the institutions of civil society. The United Kingdom has persistently failed to match a unitary state with a unitary civil society, but it has enshrined the legitimacy of the 'peripheral' civil societies. Scotland's nineteenth century nationalism has been missed, and replaced by a culture of defeat, because the analysis has been located in the centre - the British state and its 'British' civil society; but such a single relationship has never existed - Westminster was not the focus of Scottish civil society. The aim of this thesis is to analyse government of the periphery : the governing of Scottish civil society.

It is because Scotland shares its state with a large neighbour at its feet and a couple of perhaps once 'celtic cousins' on the periphery, in conjunction with the lack of mass parliamentary citizenship, that the focus of this study is on how Scottish civil society

was governed. Since 1707 not only has the concept of the Scottish nation survived in popular consciousness, but to all intents and purposes Scotland has appeared to act *as if it were* a nation with its own state. The governing of Scottish civil society has changed dramatically since 1707, and each change has produced a different expression of national identity. This thesis is a study of the period 1830-1860. It is a period of the *laissez-faire* state and the triumph of the bourgeoisie - it was, it is argued here, the high point of 'self-governing' civil society. Together, the result was a form of nationalism that was only tangentially parliamentary, strongly pro-Union, but nevertheless explicit in its demands for the better government of Scotland. That is, it demanded better governing of Scottish civil society.

There have been various catch-phrases coined to describe Scotland's membership of the British unitary-state : 'semi-independence', a 'nation within a nation', or, 'independence within Britain'. Each is an attempt to come to terms with this apparent, and enigmatic, contradiction : Scotland, a 'sort of nation-state', but without a state. Each is an acknowledgement of the continuing power of memories of independent sovereignty, and of the ability of the Scottish bourgeoisie to govern over its own territory. No-one has attempted to analyse systematically the expression of Scottish nationalism in this unique mid-century period. This thesis will try to fill that gap; it will seek to re-interpret Scottish national identity, 1830-1860. It will demonstrate that because of the way civil society was governed mid-century, Scottish nationalism was loyal to the Union of 1707, but in no way inferior as a result. To coin another phrase, this form of nationalism was 'Unionist-nationalism'.

The remainder of this Introduction will set the context for the study of the state/civil society axis in the mid-nineteenth century which forms the substance of chapters two and three. By explaining how the Union of 1707 impacted on Scottish civil society in the eighteenth century, it will be shown how Scottish civil society was governed by a distant state, and how this resulted in a particular form of Scottish nationalism. The eighteenth century is important as a period of rebellion and quiet which did much to fix the image of Scottish society. The two defeated Jacobite rebellions have, on the back of the Union of 1707, been perceived as paving the way for a process of Aglicisation of Scottish society and the homogenization of British society. Our understanding of nineteenth century Scottish civil society, and its nationalism, must be rooted in the way that state/civil-society axis operated in the eighteenth century. How then was eighteenth century Scottish civil society *governed?*

(III) The 'Governing of Scotland' in the Eighteenth Century : rebellion & quiet

The Union of the English and Scottish parliaments in 1707 resulted in the Parliament of Great Britain located at Westminster. Resulting from the negotiations, the articles of the Union guaranteed the maintenance of the Scottish legal system, the autonomy of the Scottish church and the Scottish system of education. These three institutions, the very backbone of potential Scottish nation-statehood, have been both the strength of the Union and its Achilles' heel. By securing the 'sacred three' the Union possessed a strength born out of flexibility and recognition of the history of the Scottish nation. But its weakness was to provide the framework of nation-hood and so enhance, and give a practical reality to, Scottish ethnic identity.

For the actual day-to-day governing of Scotland, the Union produced a mixed effect, but three themes can be identified. The first major change was the disbandonment of the Scottish privy council, to be replaced by a new privy council of Great Britain. Although the Union of 1707 allowed for two Secretaries of State in Scotland, real decisions were made in the smaller Cabinet where Scots were unrepresented and Scottish business ignored.[24] Only nine Acts relating to Scotland were passed by the London parliament in the period 1727-45. Scotland's 'high politics', therefore, was increasingly being contested on an English playing field.

The second point of the post-Union settlement was that Scotland came under the control of political managers. From 1725 until 1761 Scottish politics was run by the Duke of Argyll and his brother the Earl of Islay; from 1775 it was Henry Dundas. These managers were expected to keep Scottish MPs and peers in line in the lobbies and keep Scotland itself quiet - MPs who were too vociferous in their representation of Scottish interests were regarded as troublesome.[25] The office of Secretary of State for Scotland existed from 1707-1746, then the post was abolished following the defeat of the Jacobites. After, or indeed despite of, a few piecemeal solutions, there existed a void in Scotland's representation at Westminster. This absence of a Scottish voice at Westminster persisted until Henry Dundas came on the scene first as Solicitor General in 1766 and then Lord Advocate in 1775.[26] It was the Lord Advocate, chosen from amongst the Edinburgh lawyers, who became the unofficial manager of Scotland. In this role Dundas kept the Scottish politicians loyal to the government, no more so, for example, than when the government suppressed the Scottish radicals in the 1790s.[27] Dundas, and his son Robert, were fundamental in tying Scottish politics to that of Westminster and therefore maintaining Scottish loyalty to the Union.[28] In conjunction

with the rule of the Dundas dynasty, the Scottish Lairds, with their control over the the justice system, and through the power of patronage, kept a firm reign in the counties.[29] This system of management in Scotland was an effective one and the Dundas family ruled the roost in Scotland until 1830.

A third feature of the governing of Scotland post-1707 was the creation of a series of boards or commissions, based in Edinburgh, which attempted to administer Scottish affairs. The Scottish Court of the Exchequer, which administered income and paid taxes to the Civil List; the Board of Excise and the Board of Customs; the Board of Police (1714); and the Board of Trustees (1727) were all created. They were a prime source of jobs and rewards for the Scottish bourgeoisie and their sons, so keeping them sweet to the favours of the Union.[30]

In the memorable words of Michael Fry, the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Union of Parliaments in 1707, "allowed the Scots to dispense with the distraction of politics."[31] Scotland was able to get by without its parliament. But the point remains that although Scotland no longer had a state, it was a relatively quiet place to govern. Scotland's aristocracy was acquiescent to London's favours and they dominated in the counties until the late twentieth century; the Scottish bourgeoisie was politically disenfranchised, but failed to make any claims for power until the period of reform agitation immediately before 1832; and Scotland's lower orders, equally disenfrachised, had their radicalism controlled by government spies and militia loyal to the managers of the state.[32] On the whole, it can be said, Scotland was effectively governed on 'auto-pilot'.

There were, however, two challenges to this general calm - both of which came from the Jacobites, and together they were the central components of eighteenth century Scottish nationalism. The focus of Scottish nationhood in this period was the Jacobites and their attempts to replace the Hanoverian monarchy with that of the Stuarts. In the eighteenth century the Jacobite claimants promised to repeal the 1707 Union and were significant for two major uprisings - and defeats - in 1715 (the '15) and 1745/6 (the '45). The second defeat, at Culloden in 1746, had the greatest impact on Scottish society. The retribution was such that the Scottish managers, Islay and Milton, were unable to control the legislative programme which followed.[33] After Culloden, amongst the new laws imposed, the wearing of tartan was banned (except within the British army), and Episcopalian ministers, often proponents of Jacobitism

in the past, were required to take new oaths of allegiance and to publicly pray for the Hanoverian royal family.

Because of this suppression, Jacobitism was no longer a threat by the 1760s. Although, Pittock argues, the Jacobite songs maintained a critique of Scotland's place in the British state throughout both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Scotland's integration into a common British body-politic increased apace. Joining the army was one of the few acts which could save a Jacobite man from treason, and many captured during the '45 were pardoned upon enlistment.[34] For the first time ever, the British army had been able to recruit men on a massive scale from the Scottish Highlands. From the 1760s, Scottish nationalism, as a Jacobite crusade, was tamed and turned around and into a respectable element of polite English society. The eighteenth century idea of the Highlander as the 'noble savage' is particularly notable in this context - the Scottish Gael filling the role of the 'primitive' in the Enlightenment view of the evolution of civilisation.[35] The Highlands and the Highlanders, increasingly the national image for the whole of Scotland, became sanitised and romanticised, no more so than the controversy over the publication by James Macpherson of Ossianic poetry in 1760. Although many contemporaries were aware of the falsity of this newly discovered ancient poetry, Scottish and English society wanted to believe it authentic : Scotland's violent heritage, in this instance, had become a peaceful and romantic adjunct to that of England.

Not only was Scotland's Highland national symbolism being appropriated, but the Scottish bourgeoisie and aristocracy found itself in positions of power within England and within the Empire. The most famous example of Scots prospering in this way was the patronage of Warren Hastings. As Governor of Bengal and subsequently Governor-General of India, Hastings actively encouraged the appointment of Scots within his administration. Well born/or well educated Englishmen had the pick of jobs in government at home - so the most readily available source of opportunities for educated Scots was in the empire.

(IV) The Eighteenth Century and the forging of a British Identity?

Important to the understanding of Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century, is the debate to which 'British' identity had come to dominate over peripheral identities during the eighteenth century. If a British identity was increasingly and consistently the most important national identity expressed by the people of Britain, then all peripheral nationalisms should decline in relevance. The most recent, and most

powerful argument in favour of the rise of a nation of 'Britons', is that of Linda Colley. War and empire, in the thesis of Colley, were significant in cementing the Union between Scotland and the rest of Great Britain.[36]

Colley argues that so effective was this incorporation of Scots into prominent positions within the Empire that it resulted in an English nationalist backlash in the form of the tirades by John Wilkes.[37] Wilkes became the personification of liberty, and liberty was the hallmark of Englishness, she argues. Wilkite opposition to the melting 'down' of the name 'England' into 'Great Britain' was one objection. John Wilkes functioned as an English nationalist administering comfort to a people in flux, Colley states, by ensuring Scottish differences remained as differences. Through such arguments, Colley suggests, Wilkes hoped that this was a guarantee that traditional Englishness *and* English primacy within the Union would remain intact. This, she continues, was exactly what large numbers of English men and women wanted to hear, and the extremism of Wilkite propaganda was testimony to the fact that the barriers between England and Scotland were coming down and proof that the Scots had gained power within Great Britain to a degree previously unknown.[38]

Colley's argument is premised on the view that not only did the Act of 1707 produce a British state, but a British civil society followed, forged in blood upon the battlefields of France and elsewhere in the common cause of Protestantism : Britons : Forging the Nation, is the title of her book. This is a very problematic assumption, as the first section of this chapter has indicated. The degree of Anglicisation of Scottish civil society, and the commonality between Scottish civil society and English civil society which, arguably, occurred post-1760, building upon the cessation of military hostilities, is notable, but can it really be said to have formed a unitary nation inhabited by Britons? In asking this question, Bernard Crick has argued, Colley's use of Benedict Anderson's idea of an 'imagined political community', relying on what she calls the 'looseness' of this concept, has led her to confuse patriotism with nationalism. Crick states that :

> "Patriotism could, indeed, positively adhere to the Dynasty, Parliament, the Protestant religion and the rule of law (or negatively hating and fearing Papists and the French) in both England and Scotland, but patriotism does not always imply nationalism. One can be patriotic about an adopted state or for a multinational state such as Canada, Belgium or the United Kingdom. Nationalism demands something more, if not always ethnic homogeneity certainly cultural homogeneity. And, of course, *whose* 'imagined community'? That is where the real confusion between Englishness and Britishness ... arises."[39]

Colley does warn against an unrealistically narrow definition of nation-hood, pointing out correctly that "few nations since the world begun have been culturally and ethnically homogeneous."[40] But her escape route, the notion of dual identities, which she draws upon in concluding her argument in an attempt to acknowledge the potential of exceptions to an homogeneous 'British' identity from the Scots and the Welsh, flounders on the insistence that the British identity was dominant. As Crick states,

> "she sees the 'dual' as only held together by an overarching Britishness, not as each emotionally co-equal to it (as federalists or pluralists might argue), as well as to each other."[41]

As a Whig interpretation of the formation of British national identity, Colley's thesis is one of the most forceful, but as a contribution to nationalism of the centre, let alone of the periphery, its deficiencies are clear. Nationalism within the United Kingdom can not be unitary, and the idea that nationalism of the periphery can be placed aside, and ignored, for nationalism of the centre, misses all that is unique about the the unitary state and the four nations of the United Kingdom. As Smout has argued for the relationship between the Scottish nation and Great Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century, the Scots indeed possessed a dual identity, both Scottish and British, but :

> "If downright anti-English, anti-Union, clearly separatist sentiments are hard to find, the opposite pole of completely integrationist sentiments where Scots show no consciousness of or will to be in any sense different from the English are much more unusual."[42]

Smout uses Anthony Smith's notion of concentric loyalties to make his point[43], and explains that here was an eighteenth century sense of being Scottish within a wider British identity. This is different from Colley because there is recognition that the British identity did not become either homogeneous or all consuming - there was no sense of the Scots becoming Britons. This was no more apparent than in the language of the eighteenth century Scottish *literati* who spoke equally of being both Scottish and British. Scotland saw itself as a junior partner to England in this period, not as non-Scots, not as Britons. Alexander Wedderburn put it, in what Smout refers to as 'an oft-quoted passage' in the Edinburgh Review in 1756 :

> "If countries have their ages with respect to improvement North Britain may be considered as in a state of early youth and supported by the mature strength of her kindred country."[44]

The acceptance of the unitary state is clear from Smout's evidence, but so too is the recognition of partnership between England and Scotland. The continued existence of two separate civil societies was maintained by constant negotiation between the two. For the second half of the eighteenth century, following the defeat of the '45, it appears that Scotland had accepted the role of junior partner. However we shall see in later chapters that this view changed, and that nationalist rhetoric of the post-1820s argued that Scotland was emphatically an *equal* partner with England.

Perhaps at times a 'British' identity did dominate over a Scottish identity, but at times it patently did not. It is true that anxiety about a Scottish accent, or writing in Scottish idioms, was widespread among the *literati* and among their allies in the landed classes in the eighteenth century. These elites, if they could, sent their children to school in England to learn polite language.[45] This has been picked up by Nairn and other authors as being symptomatic of a weakness in Scotland's self-identity. However, it is argued here that, as Murdoch and Sher state, this point should not be taken too far :

> "It is therefore not quite fair to accuse 18th century Scots who wrote self-consciously polished English of pandering to the 'ruling classes' or assimilating themselves to a dominant English culture. As the new *lingua franca* of the age, English opened the door to a larger cultural world, just as it does in many non-English countries today. By the mid-18th century English had become the medium of polite, urbane Scottish culture in the universities and the cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Aberdeen."[46]

By 1750, the joint authors above point out, most 'thinking Scots' were prepared to perceive of themselves as both British and Scots in a way that was positive and unproblematic. Polite society tried to rid itself of Scotticisms, but still tried to remain Scottish. The language of Scots was used informally, and frequently spoken, while English was employed when demanded for formal occasions. The path of Anglicisation, therefore, was not smooth, and despite any apparent decline in use of Scots, there occurred in the nineteenth century a revival in its use as a literary form, and this has been regarded as important to the growth of nationalist sentiment in that century.[47]

If the Scots be not Britons, but be Scots and/or Britons, then how did this manifest itself in the expression of Scottish national identity? The following section will serve as a background to the history of Scottish nationalism post-1707.

(V) A Nationalist Romance?

One of the dominant strands of Scottish national identity from the later eighteenth century onwards, was the popular interpretations of the Jacobite defeats and the Stuart claims to the throne. By placing this interpretation of the Stuart past within the context of the growing prosperity of Scotland in the eighteenth century, Pittock argues that the 'propaganda war' against the Union contained a strong literary and antiquarian contribution.[48] This rhetoric was, importantly, a celebration of the past, and perhaps one of the most intriguing links made to the Stuart claims was that made to Wallace and Bruce, Scotland's heroes from the Wars of Independence in the Fourteenth century. Wallace and Bruce were attached to the destinies of the Stuarts - thus there was a sense of the loss of a better, more free, age :

> Since now our Nation's bought and sold,
> And Scotland has no name;
> Since honour's cast in a new mold,
> And chastity's a staine ...
> How men and women did behave
> I'll tell you, Sir, the manner,
> When Wallace and the Bruce did live,
> When I was a Dame of Honour.

The past is 'bought and sold', and the world of 'Wallace and the Bruce' disappeared for ever.'[49] Pittock's evidence displays the use of Wallace and Bruce and of the Stuarts as symbols of a past that has been lost since the Union. This was an acceptance of 'junior partner' status under England and was, as we shall see in chapters eight and nine, a quite different symbolic use of Wallace and Bruce from that which was made in the nineteenth century, when the two martyrs symbolised Scotland's equality with England.

For the intelligentsia and for the bourgeoisie, the Union provided material opportunity which they were not prepared to pass up for a few insults.[50] There were jobs for the boys *(sic)* in the British civil service, naval and military jobs home and abroad, and jobs with the East India Company - served up by Islay and Dundas. It can be argued, therefore, that Scottish feelings of national identity in the eighteenth century were strong and powerful, but they were not anti-English. Nick Phillipson has called the result 'noisy inaction', where the middle class had accepted the economic rewards of the Union, and so throughout its agitation accepted that the Union should remain; 'semi-independence' for Scotland was how Phillipson termed much of this eighteenth century period.[51]

In fact, in terms of 'positive' expressions of Scottish national identity, the heroic failures of the Jacobites in the '15 and the '45 had a greater impact in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than in the eighteenth century. For example Robert Forbes' The Lyon in Mourning, a massive work detailing the primary evidence of the second Jacobite rebellion, was written between 1745 and 1775, but its first publication in a shortened form was not until 1835. As Lynch states : "the Lyon became part of the collective *tristesse* of a nineteenth century industrial nation in search of a glamorous past."[52] As has been well documented, by the mid-nineteenth century even Queen Victoria could declare, as a Hanoverian monarch, that she was a Jacobite at heart. The real potency of the Jacobite story was, therefore, waiting to be played out in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This use of romance in the expression of Scottish national identity became more common in the nineteenth century and remained powerful throughout the 1830-1860 period, although it was less the orthodoxy than has often been supposed. The kilt and Highland dress was fully appropriated by Lowlanders and turned into the 'national dress of Scotland'. The kilts resurrection in 1782 from the ban on its wearing which followed the '45 was emphatically clear after George IVs visit to Scotland in 1822, when the oversized monarch was stitched up in full Highland dress and pink tights.[53] Indeed, following that visit the Highland Society was overwhelmed by a flood of queries from aristocrats and Lowland notables as to details of the correct mode of Highland dress.[54]

Now that the 'Jacobite menace' was becoming a distant memory, the process of romanticising that past could continue apace. Rabbie Burns had earlier made the Jacobite song respectable and accessible to the common man and woman, and Sir Walter Scott extolled the imagery of Jacobitism as the pinnacle of emotion - the heart along with his Unionist head. Scott's first novel was set during the '45 - it really was history for the mass market. His novels revived British-wide notions of what was clearly *English* chivalry and the romance of Medieval manners. It was no ambiguity for the Scottish Earl of Eglinton, later to appear as President of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, to celebrate English chivalry in his famed tournament in 1839.[55] In 1848, Victoria acquired Balmoral and its estate and attended her first Braemar Gathering. Victoria often exclaimed her fondness for Scotland and its lifestyle and was persuaded to buy and wear a number of Paisley shawls and dresses.[56] The House of Hanover had well and truly stamped out, or

rather appropriated, the Stuart memory. Polite society was in love with the romance of the Highlands, as witnessed by the success of the Sobieski Stuarts - the Allen or the Hay Allen brothers - who charmed British society with their descriptions of Highland dress, based on their claim to be direct descendants of the the Royal Stuart line. Their literary work included The Laes of the Century (1847); The Costume of the Clans (1845); Vestiarium Scotium (1842); and Lays of the Deer Forest (1848) Although failing to impress Sir Walter Scott, and of very doubtful authenticity, their work caught the popular spirit of the Stuart myth.[57]

This is one story of Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century, but it is not the only one. This romantic tradition has been linked to nineteenth century images of tartanry and kailyard, most significantly by Tom Nairn, and has been explained by Scotland's failure to engage in parliamentary political nationalism and so gain its own state. However this conceptualisation, as the sections (I) to (III) made clear, fails to acknowledge the 'gap' between the British state and Scottish civil society. The classical nation-state is not the proper frame of reference for either the United Kingdom or for Scottish civil society. Thus, following on from the notions of dual identity developed in the late eighteenth century, and by examining how the Victorian state enshrined Scottish civil society and empowered its bourgeoisie, this thesis will attempt a non-romantic interpretation of Scottish national identity. It will instead present an interpretation of the symbols, icons and rhetoric of Scottish national identity (chapters eight and nine) as being a *rational* response to the nature of the governing of Scottish civil society in the mid-nineteenth century.

Conclusion

This Introduction has made clear that the concept of the 'British nation-state' is a falsity. The British state has been a unitary one since 1707, but still no unitary civil society has been created. This introduction to the British 'nation-state' has had the purpose of directing our attention to the particular state/civil society relationship which is the axis around which Scottish national identity hangs. It has been explained that the state employs what was termed as 'infrastructural power' (the rule of law) to tie civil society to the state : in Great Britain this tie was shared.

The question then became, how did this relationship between Scottish civil society and the British state affect Scottish national identity during the first century and a half of its existence. In the later eighteenth century it was demonstrated how Scottish society was effectively 'managed' on behalf of the British state. Scotland was run on 'auto-

pilot', and this was seen to be acceptable to a bourgeoisie who found the empire a source of material prosperity. Equally, however, it was explained that Scottish society maintained its distinctiveness, and that Scots possessed a dual identity. Junior partnership was acceptable to eighteenth century Scots, but this not mean there was a dominant British identity .

Thus while it is perhaps fair to describe the first half of the eighteenth century as producing many of the symbols of Scottish national identity, the second half of that century provided very little of the action. The effective management of Scotland and the availability of jobs and patronage in London meant Scotland post-1745 was, on the issue of Scottish sovereignty, more or less docile. The power of governing Scottish society was dispensed by the Westminster state, and that society was managed from within. The effective governing of Scottish civil society was such that political nationalism was a non-starter, and the dominant image of later eighteenth century Scottish national identity was a romantic-literary one.

The romance of the Stuart myths was carried over into the nineteenth century, and still no parliamentary political nationalism appeared. To the question as to why not, the answer is again rooted within the state/civil society axis. The 'management' of Scottish civil society had effectively ended shortly after the century turned, and the nature of the state was soon to change under reform into the modern state of classical nation-state theory. But still no unified British civil society, and still no Scottish parliamentary political nationalism to challenge the unitary British state, why? To attempt an answer to this question, chapter two will explore the Victorian state, while chapter three will document recent attempts to understand Scottish civil society in the nineteenth century. Together, chapters two and three will bare the state/civil society axis in the mid-nineteenth century in all its glory.

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Chapter Two
An Economic and Social History of the Victorian State

The clearest reason why it is wrong-headed to locate Scottish nationalism in Westminster politics in this period concerns that very state itself. The nineteenth century British state was a quite different institution from its twentieth century counterpart. It was different because it divested itself from the many powers it had acquired under mercantilism, and it was different because where it did have to intervene in society, as was increasingly the case throughout the century, it did so through the mechanism of local government. Its relationship to civil society was, therefore, often a tangential one, lacking any influence in the day-to-day governing of society.

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the institutions of the British unitary state, and to explain their impact on civil society. By establishing the particular form the Parliamentary state took in the mid-nineteenth century, the stage will be set for an analysis of Scottish civil society which will be carried out in chapter three.

(I) The *laissez-faire* State of the Nineteenth Century

This conceptualisation of the nineteenth century state as one which divested itself of many powers is central to the mainstream historical literature. Eric Hobsbawm agues for this period that :

> "The characteristic attitude of the British or other governments towards the economy before the Industrial Revolution was that they had a duty to do something about it. This is also the almost universal attitude of governments towards the economy today [1968]. But between these two eras, which might be called the norm of history, and indeed of reason, there occurred an age in which the fundamental attitude of the government was the opposite : the less it could manage to intervene in the economy, the better. Broadly speaking this era of abstention coincided with the rise, triumph and domination of industrial Britain, and it was indeed uniquely suited to the situation of this country, and perhaps one or more of those like it. The history of government economic policy and theory since the industrial revolution is essentially that of the rise and fall of *laissez-faire*."[1]

To Hobsbawm it is clear that with reference to the international economy, the Parliamentary state reduced its activities from around 1815 to 1870. Where there is much more debate for this period is in the interpretation of the state's social legislation.[2] To many the response of Parliament to the growing urbanisation and industrialisation was one of intervention, tantamount to the beginnings of the

twentieth century welfare state.[3] To others[4], and this is the line taken here, the state's response was one which empowered local government, but *not* one which empowered the central state. This split in interpretation is explained in an example by A.J. Taylor :

> "...while some have regarded the concern for public health shown by local authorities in early Victorian England *[sic]* as a movement away from *laissez-faire* towards collectivism, others have viewed the resistance of these authorities to the centralising tendencies of the General Board of Health, as a no less striking manifestation of the operation of the *laissez-faire* principle."[5]

To reach an understanding of the Victorian state, central to this research thesis, it is necessary that both the economic and the social role of the state is examined.

(II) 'Rule Britannia : The mother of all nation-states'?

By the end of the Napoleonic War Britain's economic position was all-powerful. As the leading industrial nation Britain could undersell anyone. As the leading colonialist, with a naval strength to protect it, Britain had the trade routes which guaranteed prosperity. With such advantages in access to raw materials and in the productive process, British economic orthodoxy freed itself from the shackles of mercantilism. It was accepted that the less restriction there was on trade the more Britain could sell, and the more powerful the country could become.[6] The theories of Adam Smith had overtaken mercantilism and were used to free world trade to the benefit of the first industrial nation. Smith's theories were strengthened in this instance by John Stuart Mill, who published his Principles of Political Economy in 1848, and argued that "freedom of international trade would ensure peace between nations by substituting for the confrontation of sovereign states a system of mutual interdependence."[7] It was therefore accepted by the two theorists whose ideas did so much to shape economic thought in the middle phase of the industrial revolution, that the state should not stand in the way of trade. From 1815 onwards the British state was no longer to be the spur of economic growth through its protectionist policies and investment plans; instead British trade and British industry was doing it alone.

(III) Trade & Economy : a minimalist state

It can be seen that mid-century economic theory favoured the minimalist state, of that there is little controversy in the literature I have presented. It is quite clear that by 1815 Britain had moved much further from the interventionist government of its main trading rivals.[8] It had started a move to limit both its tax raising powers and its controls on the movement of trade, a philosophy which continued up until the final

quarter of the century. The size and the power of the British state did not increase in this period of industrial revolution, as perhaps might have been expected. It has been estimated that between 1830 and the 1880s the annual public expenditure per head of population trebled in Europe whereas in Britain it remained substantially stable.[9]

It terms of the economy, the British state in the nineteenth century was increasingly under the influence of the economic philosophy of *laissez-faire*. The most significant area in which the state cancelled its powers to regulate was trade. First to be freed were the food trades, for so long the legislator's responsibility. The old laws controlling the corn market, which were intended to protect the consumer, had been abandoned. By 1815 the only relic of a once elaborate system of domestic price controls was the Assize of Bread, and it was "virtually dead in the water."[10] The state, by the repeal of the Elizabethan labour statutes in 1813 and 1814, had also withdrawn from the wages bargain. No longer were Justices of the Peace involved in the setting of maximum and minimum wages as occasionally they were called upon to do. The Combination Laws were repealed in 1824 and 1825, opening up the right to strike. The Beer Trade was freed in 1830, much to the disgust of many evangelicals who responded with a hardening of the temperance debate into one over teetotalism. Beer remained tax-free until 1880.[11] The Navigation Laws which controlled foreign trade, and were central to mercantilism, were relaxed in 1849 and totally repealed in 1854. The Corn Laws had gone by 1846, crushed under the pressure of the Manchester free-traders. Glass was freed in 1845; the brick excise was removed in 1850. Duties on colonial and foreign sugar were equalised in 1854, and gradually withdrawn thereafter. Soap and paper were freed in 1853 and 1861 respectively. Britain was the only country which systematically refused any fiscal protection to its industries at this time and it was the only country in which the government neither built, nor helped to finance - directly or indirectly - or even planned any part of the railway system[12], although Parliament did impose safety regulations and exercised some control over the purchase of land. The capital market was made much more efficient by easier facilities for forming joint stock companies, the culmination of which was the limited liability legislation of 1856.

The British state also reduced its tax raising potential. In part the freeing of trade had the effect of reducing the flow of revenue into the Exchequer, but indirect taxation was equally curtailed. Between 1825 and 1856, Hobsbawm argues, "a bonfire of older duties reduced indirect taxes to the minimum needed to get revenue, and the load on the citizen lightened perceptibly."[13] *Laissez-faire* fiscal theory did not advocate

indirect taxes because, it was argued, it interfered with the free flow of trade. Acceptable, when minimally set, was direct taxation - Robert Peel brought back income tax in 1842 for the better off at the rate of 7d in the pound, with the intention of making up for the drop in customs revenues following tariff reform.[14] Thus for this vital mid-century period the burden of public expenditure was increasingly shouldered by direct taxation only. The economic policy of the Victorian state until the final quarter of the century was, therefore, one of minimal intervention. But what of its social legislation? This question is the subject of our next section.

(IV) Urbanisation & Industrialisation : a rationally interventionist state

Table 2.1
Percentage of the Scottish population in settlements >5000, 1831-1911[15]

Year	Total (%)
1831	31.2
1861	39.4
1891	53.5
1901	57.6
1911	58.6

It is clear from Table 2.1 that a greater proportion of the Scottish population were living in urban places from 1831 onwards. The 1851 census was the first to show, for the whole of Great Britain, just over half the population as living in towns and cities. Nineteenth century Edinburgh experienced a five fold growth of population between 1801 and 1911, although its earlier primacy over Glasgow had been lost. The rate of increase was slightly greater in the early part of the period (1801-51) although the larger absolute increment occurred during the later phase (1851-1911).[16] In 1851 Edinburgh's population stood at 160,302.[17]

British society was one undergoing rapid urbanisation, effectively since around 1780. More particularly, it was urbanisation fuelled by industrialisation. This twin transformation had a well documented impact on social life, and it was a challenge that the Victorian state could not ignore. Anthony Sutcliffe argues that it was not so much a response to 'new' problems that was needed - there was an inherited basis in power from the eighteenth century which could have been used. Rather, the main development during the period of early industrialisation was simply that a large number of communities were reaching such a size and degree of structural complexity that made concerted public intervention became necessary.[18]

In apparent contradiction to the principles of free trade which dominated economic policy in this period, the British state concurrently introduced specific measures of social legislation. It is precisely how we interpret this intervention which is at the centre of the disagreements over the 1815-1870 period being the 'age of *laissez-faire*'.

The types of social legislation introduced stemmed from a number of different causes, one of the most important of which was the Victorian sense of sympathy for the underdog, usually the child. For instance, the Factory Acts of 1833 which set minimum working conditions for children and teenagers in the textile mills, was the first real infringement of mill-owners' liberties in the interest of a group incapable of self-defence. The Chimney Sweeps Acts of 1834, 1840, 1864 and 1875 were also designed to protect children. Women and children were no longer to be employed underground after Lord Shaftesbury's Coal Mines Act of 1842. These three sets of Acts were passed specifically to deal with the vulnerable members of society, not the able-bodied man. Ricardo, and the classical economists took the view that that children, not being fully rational beings, were entitled to protection as employees in factories. But adults were not : the terms upon which they laboured lay between them and their employers, and were no proper concern of the state.[19]

Only on the fringes did the state provide some help for the able-bodied workers. The Ten Hours Act of 1847, limiting the working day in the cotton industry, showed that the industrial worker was being regarded in some way as vulnerable. Gladstone's Railway Act of 1844 laid down certain minimum conditions of service, created the office of inspector of safety, and, although not carried out until the twentieth century, established the groundwork for government purchase of the railways after 21 years.[20] A later Act stipulated the provision of a workers' trains at affordable fares. The ordinary able-bodied man and woman did, then, benefit from a certain amount of specific legislative measures.

So is Kitson-Clark correct to say that "the conception of a 'period of *laissez-faire*'... is an encouragement to error"?[21] Does this evidence of social intervention mean the nineteenth century really was the precursor of the twentieth century welfare state? Of course the answer lies somewhere in between, but it is, nevertheless, a clear answer. Political economy was the dominant philosophy, but under the pressure of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation, intervention was unavoidable. As Michael Flinn makes plain :

> "The political economists of the first half of the nineteenth century were, in short, too intelligent and too well informed to advocate out-and-out *laissez-faire*. They were constantly being brought up short by the realities of the economic system in which they worked and thought, and were only too conscious of the clash between the logic of pure theory and the demands of social morality."[22]

The same is equally true concerning the ideas of Jeremy Bentham and the Utilitarians. They too cannot be fitted neatly into a divide between *laissez-faire* and intervention. In their catchphrase of 'the greatest happiness for the greatest number', the Benthamites might advocate greater or less intervention, a decision dependent on circumstance. "In practice, it urged less in the case of the Poor Law, and more in the case of Public Health", argues More.[23] The nineteenth century state could not abdicate its role from the social costs of rapid growth as it had done over tariffs. As Crouzet argues, the need for the state to act in the social arena was "imposed by the urgency of the human problems caused by industrialisation and urbanisation."[24]

The Victorian state intervened in society when it was compelled to, but its dominant philosophy was still that of political economy. Moreover, the nature of this state intervention, and this is the important point, was of the central state empowering the local state, with Parliament remaining, as much as was possible, aloof. This can be demonstrated by examining the two dominant social issues of the nineteenth century, poor relief and sanitary reform.

(IVa) The Poor Law and Local Government

The 1834 Poor Law (Amendment) Act in England and Wales entrenched the principle of 'less eligibility' into the debate on the poor. The English and Welsh able-bodied poor were excluded from out-door relief with the workhouse test being introduced to identify those 'deserving' of in-door relief, of which they had a legal right of entitlement if they could not support themselves. In Scotland the reform of the Poor Law did not take place until the Amendment Act of 1845. The able-bodied in Scotland had no right to any relief unless illness prevented work or, in the case of women, the need to care for young children.[25] Neither Amendment Act was about increasing the burden on the state. Neither Amendment Act dealt with the single biggest reason for poverty which was insufficient and irregular wages.[26] Poor Law reform in England and Wales was about reducing costs; in Scotland it was about 'better management'.

The reform of the poor law in England and Wales was regarded by contemporaries as part of the 'centralising' process. Created out of the reform in 1834 were a number of Poor Law Unions, made up of groups of 30 or so parishes, which administered relief under the auspices of the Poor Law Commission (replaced by a Poor Law Board in 1847).

In Scotland the 1845 Act did not destroy the parochial administration - the Scottish Poor Law remained in the hands of 886 separate parish administrations[27] - but it was contained within the remit of the newly created Board of Supervision for the Relief of the Poor. The Parochial Boards also administered the public health laws as they existed at the time. The Board of Supervision was a semi-independent body composed of the Lord Provosts of Edinburgh and Glasgow, the Solicitor-General, the Sheriffs of Perth, Renfrew, Ross and Cromarty, and three members appointed by the Crown.[28]

The 1845 Act, copying the pre-reform English principle, introduced legal assessment for the first time, and the long-standing tradition of outdoor relief was also altered to follow the English model, and thus declined.[29] The parochial boards were responsible for auditing registrar's accounts (1854), enforcing vaccination (1855), dealing with lunatics (1857), public health duties (1867), licensing pawnbrokers, raising the education rate, and more besides.[30] So administrative power was still vested at the parochial level in Scotland. Although the Board of Supervision was the pinnacle of centralisation in Scotland, it was effectively free of Parliamentary control (that is, it was ignored by the Home Office, argues Levitt), so it was centralisation based in Edinburgh. The Board also had very little supervisory powers over the burghs. Even after the 1867 Public Health Act, towns over 10,000 were excluded from the Board's control.[31] Relief of the poor was still effectively a parochial matter or a town or city matter. The social intervention of the British state had not seriously eroded local rate-payer responsibility for, and control over, the relief of the poor within their own administrative boundaries.

It is clear from the work of Flinn, Crowther and Levitt, that although the state was involving itself to a greater extent in society, the sharp end of its influence was administered locally. It is also clear that following the reform of the two Poor Law Acts, the power of local parochial officials was stronger in Scotland than in England and Wales. Central inspection, as recommended by Bentham and Chadwick, was vital to the English system of poor relief; by the turn of the century England had 67 inspectors for its Unions, and even then the Local Government Board complained that

this was scarcely adequate. In Scotland two General Inspectors were appointed in 1856 to carry out all duties (eventually four by the 1880s).[32] The Royal Commission of 1909 found the discrepancy between England and Scotland puzzling :

> '"Is there any reason for the number of Scottish inspectors being smaller than the number of English and Irish inspectors?' asked William Smart, the Professor of Political Economy at Glasgow. 'Only Scotland just takes what it can get', replied one of the inspectors. 'The usual neglect since the Union, in fact', commented Smart."[33]

If we ignore the nationalist gripe for the moment, then it should be understood that with its low level of administrative back-up, the Board had no more than a marginal influence over the towns in the relief of the poor. The Board had little legal clout either. For instance the Nuisance Removal Bill of 1856 and its resultant Act, an important measure of public health reform in Scotland before the 1867 Act, gave the Board only the power to decide whether the Local Authority was to be the Parochial Board or the Police Commissioners : the Local Authority not the Board of Supervision was handed the authority to enforce the Act. In addition, the Board of Supervision in Scotland was based on government appointments from the landowning class and the Edinburgh advocates, and so scarcely in a position to dictate to the elected and liberal councils about how they should spend ratepayers money. Despite the fact that Board of Supervision was 'the first principal government department north of the Border'[34], effective power still resided with the local elites. The governing of poor relief in Scotland is one where its management was within the town and the city, administered by the local bourgeoisie; indeed, this is a story repeated in many ways in the area of sanitary reform.

(IVb) Sanitary Reform and Local Government

With the reform of the Poor Law in 1834 and 1845 the British state was explicitly trying to juggle a reduction in the spiralling costs of poor relief with the strains of centralised administration. In the area of sanitary reform, the British state was equally explicit in the agenda it sketched out for the local authorities in order for them to respond to the excesses of *laissez-faire*.

The story of the Public Health Movement is one where the state initiated social intervention, but did so through local government. Michael Lynch argues that the first steps taken towards an ordered urban society had come in the area of public health.[35]

In Scotland public health reforms were left in the hands of the towns, more so than in England and Wales, and actually the sanitary condition of Scotland suffered as a result. Importantly, the provisions of the 1848 Public Health Act were not extended to Scotland. This Act included the setting up the Central Board of Health (1848-1858) under the chairmanship of Edwin Chadwick. Flinn gives us three reasons for this defeat of the centralising principle in Scotland. Firstly, because the Act of 1837 in which the civil registration of births and deaths was not extended to Scotland, thus there was no means of officially ascertaining which places had a death rate over 23 per thousand - which then triggered the setting up of a local public health board : this mechanism was at the core of the 1848 Act. Secondly, and more importantly, the medical profession in Edinburgh was sceptical of the advantages of such a non-medical bureaucracy. Thirdly, the medical profession thought the Scottish situation was different with regards to the diffusion of disease. The upshot was that the Public Health (Scotland) Bill was rejected in 1849 and it was not until 1867 that a Public Health (Scotland) Act finally gave the Board of Supervision general supervisory powers in relation to public health in Scotland. This was finally achieved, Flinn argues, because it was Scottish not London based : [36]

> "They [the medical profession] shared a general Scottish reluctance to submit themselves voluntarily to additional supervision from London, suggesting that, instead of submitting any future Scottish local health authorities to the jurisdiction of the central (London) Health Board, the Poor Law Board of Supervision in Edinburgh ... was the most suitable Scottish central authority for public health matters."[37]

The Scottish equivalents to the 1848 Public Health Act and its lineal successors were Lindsay's Police Act of 1862 and the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1867. In was not until 1892 - Burgh Police (Scotland) Act - that Scotland had caught up with England in terms of sanitary reform. Scotland in fact had a lot of catching up to do : not in the larger towns and cities which had looked after their environment through private acts, but in the smaller towns which had not.[38]

From this brief discussion of poor relief and of sanitary reform it has been seen that the Parliamentary state did not simply legislate itself into more and more power. Centralisation of state powers was not a general feature of the mid-nineteenth century, although it will be argued in chapter eight that there was a strong fear that centralisation was constantly encroaching as the century progressed, and this fueled Scottish nationalist concerns. I have argued that Ricardian economics and the lure of free trade was attractive enough to the first industrial nation for its state to sit back and watch

much economic and industrial advancement. I have also argued that, at the same time as the nineteenth century state freed itself economically, it had to concern itself increasingly in the social and political difficulties attached to rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. What I have argued is that the state has increased governmental control over society by transferring powers to the local state, especially in the case of Scotland. Michael Flinn sums up this process when he points out that,

> "... by authorizing local government authorities - at first through the establishment of improvement commissions, and later through the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 and subsequent local private acts to perform a wide range of social services, governments implicitly accepted the principle of local government intervention under the authority of the central government."[39]

The relationship between the nation and the state in the nineteenth century was not a simple one. Westminster was not the only, and probably not the dominant, form of government. Westminster was certainly not involved at the sharp end of governing in either the town or the country (and for Scotland, for most of the time, not the nation either). The role of the central state was to empower the local state. The discussion of poor relief and of public health made clear that actual governing was done by the the Boards of control and especially by the local authorities. Local government, then, is the next subject of our attention.

(V) The Evolution of Local Government in Scotland, 1833-1900

The existence of nearly standard burgh constitutions made the reformers' task very much easier in Scotland than in England where there was a great variety of customs and tenures. This difference explains in part the delay in burgh reform in England until 1835.[40] The legislation which reformed local government in Scotland in 1833 created what was called a "police system" of local authorities with the creation of "police commissioners". One of the burgh statues of 1833 allowed £10 householders in a royal burgh, or burgh, of barony, to by-pass (but not supplant) the existing councils by adopting a "parallel police system", whereby elected magistrates and commissioners of police were given powers to raise rates.[41] Thus the 1833 reform created the rather confusing picture of urban government in Scotland with the creation of either new councils replacing the old oligarchies, or of a parallel police system alongside an old council - although, argues Morris, by the 1840s they consisted, in practice, of the same membership.[42]

The police commissioners' main duties were to appoint police constables to 'attend to watching, paving cleansing, scavenging, the water supply and the prevention of infectious diseases; to name streets and number houses; to remove "forestairs" or ruinous buildings; to regulate drains, sewers and fire engines; and to license hackney coaches. They were also empowered to impose yearly assessments, to contract loans, and to receive property even from tutors or curators for infants, minors, furious or fatuous persons, and married women'.[43]

The police commissioners therefore had responsibility over many issues which were covered by public health legislation in England. Scotland concentrated its improvements under the 'police acts' or through local acts sponsored by the individual towns and cities and passed through Parliament. The right to adopt a police system was extended in 1847 to non-royal parliamentary burghs, and in 1850 to "populous places', certified by the Sheriff to have over 1200 inhabitants - both these Acts (and an Act of 1856) widened the scope of the police commissioners' powers : ranging from the provision of public baths to the inspection of foodstuffs and the ordering of repairs to insanitary housing.[44] These 'police' powers were again increased in the Burgh Police (Scotland) Act - the Lindsay Act - of 1862. It enabled the police authorities to form Dean of Guild Courts to then enforce building regulations. (These powers were advanced by the Police Act of 1892 and the Public Health (Scotland) Act of 1897). Although the Lindsay Act was not legally enforceable, it did serve further to improve the effectiveness of local officials in their efforts to manage their urban environment. It also dramatically extended the extent of urban government. The Lindsay Act allowed for any locality of more than 700 in population to become a police burgh with the legal right to make building and sanitary laws of their own.[45] Finally, the Burgh Police Act of 1892 ended the system of dual responsibility (so that henceforth a town might be governed either by provost, baillies and councillors, or by police magistrates and commissioners, but not by both) and the Town Council (Scotland) Act of 1900 logically completed the process by insisting on uniform constitutions in all burghs under provost, baillies and elected councillors.[46]

The problem of overlapping government authorities was exacerbated by many statutes which were intended for better government of towns throughout the whole of Britain which could not be imposed on Scotland because they did not take account of Scottish law. The most quoted example of this was the Sanitary Act of 1866 which was designed to force local authorities to improve sanitary provision, but it proved

unworkable in Scotland because the final means of enforcement was by appeal to the Queen's Bench which had no jurisdiction in Scotland.[47]

The story of local government post-1833 in Scotland is one where the local state assumed greater and greater powers for intervening and thus shaping the urban environment. The implication for the debate over 'the age of *laissez-faire*' is that the central state did not directly alter its minimalist role in society to any great extent. This then means that there was no inconsistency in policy for a British state to embrace free trade on the one hand and to sponsor greater restrictions on the social impact of the free market on the other. As I have stressed, crucial to the Victorian state's commitment to social legislation were the powers it gave to local government. The Victorian central state was interventionist *only* in terms of the powers it gave to local government and the municipalities. This theme forms the context of the next section, the relationship between the central state and the local state.

(VI) Local vs Central Government

In the discussion so far on how the level of state intervention in the social realm should be interpreted, there has implicitly lurked a conflict between the local and the central state. After detailing the legal empowering of the local state in the last section, it is now necessary that the local/central relationship be made plain.

Throughout the mid-century period, 'informed opinion' warned against the evils of what was termed 'centralisation'. Hanham argues that British statesmen, scholars and constitutional theorists were, for the most part, firmly fixed within the Whig tradition on this matter. They believed both in the progressive evolution of institutions - of gradual refinement - and they believed in the leadership of men of education, character and social position.[48]

The virtues of local self-government had become part of the orthodox liberal creed of the 1850s. It had received widespread popularity by the campaign against Edwin Chadwick's centralising Poor Law Commission and the General Board of Health. Perhaps the most direct explanation of the position held by those who favoured local administration of the society is given by Toumlin Smith in Local Self-Government and Centralisation (1851) :

> "LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT is that system of Government under which the greatest number of minds, knowing the most, and having the

> fullest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the greatest interests, have the management of it, or control over it.
>
> CENTRALISATION is that system of Government under which the smallest number of minds, and those knowing the least, and having the fewest opportunities of knowing it, about the special matter in hand, and having the smallest interest in its well working, have the management of it, or control over it."[49]

Toumlin Smith's trenchant views on the value of local self-government was part of the Whig demand for government by men of true character and of education. It fits with the civic pride movement of the 1830s and especially the 1840s when there existed much inter-town rivalry between elites. Usually this rivalry took the form of building more and more elaborate town and trading halls, but also the building of monuments, opera houses, bandstands and other prestige symbols. The Victorian bourgeoisie was very conscious of displaying the trappings of wealth and the construction of ornate buildings and street furniture was part of this process. Inevitably this display of economic power and pride in one's town - usually where that economic success was based - required commensurate political power. The biggest ratepayers must have the political control to sanction such an amount of public spending. Local self-government was, as Toumlin Smith put it, about those with the 'greatest interest' at stake.

In contrast to the view of Toumlin Smith there were those who argued that the ratepayers were often too reluctant to back the necessary expenditure for addressing the demands of rapid urbanisation. This was particularly apparent over the issue of public health. Edwin Chadwick (1885) On the Evils of Disunity, looking back at criticisms over his reforms earlier in the century, argued :

> "I may here meet the exclamation apt to be raised by certain classes of politicians, 'Then you are for centralisation!' Even if it were so, it would be for you, the advocate of decentralisation and disunity, to say whether you prefer disease and premature mortality and waste with what you call local self-government, to health, and strength, and economy with centralisation. But I answer, that I am, on principle, for extensive decentralisation - actually for decentralisation to the greatest extent by well-arranged local consolidation for superior self-government over that which now exists; and that is your real choice - a true representation of the best local intelligence under unity in the place of disunity and local ignorance."[50]

This argument from Chadwick is consistent with that of John Stuart Mill's statement in his Representative Government (1861), that 'power may be localised, but knowledge,

to be most useful, must be centralised.[51] It is fair to argue that if to reconcile the centralising developments in public health reform with the growth in local government - from the police commissioners to civic pride and municipal socialism - then Mill's statement strikes a cord of accuracy. As Hennock explains :

> "Overwhelmed by a sense of their inadequacy in the face of new problems and wants, the local rulers were often too glad to rely on the superior knowledge accumulated in the departments of central government."[52]

The exploitation of the centralised knowledge was at the fore in the sanitary reform. In particular it was the rationale behind the appointment of the first local medical officer of health by Liverpool Corporation in 1847. Edinburgh was the first authority in Scotland to appoint a Medical Officer of Health, Dr Littlejohn, in 1862, for similar reasons.[53] Most major local authorities had in fact a medical officer before the end of the 1860s, and it became obligatory following the Public Health Act of 1872. Centralisation, therefore, was occasionally accepted, but on the whole it was the exception rather than the rule. Charles More sums it up when he states that :

> "Benthamites, of whom the most active was Edwin Chadwick, disliked local autonomy because they considered it inefficient. Practically everyone else supported it : traditionalists because such welfare as existed in the past had always been locally controlled; rate-payers, who disliked spending local money at the dictate of central government; and the central government itself, who wanted to pay for as little as possible out of central government revenue."[54]

Although central government always had ultimate power over the local state, for the actual day-to-day governing of society - and the favoured preference of the liberal bourgeoisie - it was the local state which won out. The seat of administration was essentially local in Victorian times, and especially for Scotland, Kellas argues, where central government control was intermittent and seemed a long way off.[55] Politics, both local and Parliamentary, was dominated by local concerns. Mid-century Edinburgh voters, for example, were heavily preoccupied with the Annuity Tax, a tax peculiar to Edinburgh to raise money for the local ministers of the Established Church. Note also the important argument by Derek Fraser, that for Victorians the administrative bodies of local affairs became highly charged foci of political action. In particular the politicising of the parochial vestry which was the committee associated with the maintenance of the fabric of the church and the relief of the poor. Although the vestries importance waned following the reform of local government in 1833 and 1835, it was not until 1868 and the abolition of church rates that they were stripped of

all power. Before municipal reform, Liberal vestries counter-balanced Tory oligarchies, and after reform artisan and working class vestries counterbalanced bourgeois dominated councils.[56] Politics, indeed, was a local matter and no prospective Parliamentary candidate could afford to forget that.

Big towns had always relied on local acts to legislate. In Edinburgh, for example, the building of Regent Arch to connect Calton Hill with the East End of Princess Street, and the building of the Mound and Bank Street so to connect the Old and New Town, were achieved by Private Bills steered through Parliament by the town council early in the nineteenth century.[57] Big towns, and many smaller towns too, increasingly became involved in urban service provision. Services like water, gas and the trams tended to be monopolies which needed permission from the local authority to use roads or land. Frequently these schemes were initially financed by the local authorities and many felt that the monopoly profits resulting from that permission and initial finance should go to the ratepayers. In 1874 Joseph Chamberlain expected that in fourteen years time there would be a profit of £50,00 from gas municipalisation "without the slightest degree increasing the cost of gas to the consumer more than would have been the case had the corporation not taken over the concern."'[58] Throughout Britain, from the mid-1860s to the end of the century, a big authority was expected to have its own gasworks, its own waterworks, its own tramways, its own housing estates, its own electricity supply plant, and many other public utilities. Late-century municipal socialism was perhaps the logical extension of the civic pride movement in the 1830s and 1840s[59], and it demonstrates perhaps the apogee of nineteenth century local government independence.

It can thus be seen that throughout the nineteenth century the central state, as a substitute for extensive centralisation, sought to meet the needs for social intervention by, in the words of Hennock, "passing general Acts setting out local authority powers and duties, in the belief that these statutory powers would be effectively applied without the need of coercion."[60] Parliament was directly or indirectly the only source of authority available. The Private Bill Procedures of Westminster, and after 1870 the Local Government Board, regulated the ability of local authorities to raise finance and override individual property interests in pursuit of perceived collective aims.[61] Central government forged a quasi-legalistic arbitration between local interests and between local and national needs with occasional inputs of policy from 'administrator statesmen in disguise.'[62]

It was not until the early 1870s that the question of power no longer revolved primarily around the centre/local government relations; it then became an issue within local authority structure itself : between the elected members and the local officials. In 1871 the Local Government Board was formed - it put an end to the isolation of Poor Law Board as the predominant agent of state centralisation.[63] It has been argued that as local action became more complex, so power came to be shared with national professional bodies; and as local action became more extensive, it had to be shared with the central state, the body that could raise the additional expenditure needed.[64] By the 1870s the local bourgeoisie no longer had the governmental structure which could deal with the extent of the demands made on government. The creation of the Scotch Education Department in 1872 and the creation of the Scottish Office in 1885 is part of the process post-1870 of centralising government. Also, with the working class obtaining the vote in 1867, and more widely in 1885, it was not long before this class would demand, and receive, substantial public intervention for greater welfare. A centralised state came increasingly to the fore post-1870. Economically, too, the British state had had to abandon its hands-off approach. It can be said with some confidence that *laissez-faire*, as the dominant economic philosophy, started to crumble after 1870, although some authors have argued for its persistence well into the twentieth century.[65] As other countries industrialised it became evident that Free Trade was not enough to maintain Britain as the only, or even the chief industrial power. By the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the British state and the central/local state relationships had fundamentally altered - they had taken on their twentieth century structure.

It is the 1830-1860 period - the pinnacle of the *laissez-faire* state - which is so different and so misunderstood by accounts of the Scottish nation and the British state in the nineteenth century. In the 1830-1860 period, Scottish civil society was enshrined from afar, but governed locally. The state/civil society axis for Scotland was a local relationship, and this is where Scottish national identity was formed. The town councils were part of the story, but they were not part of 'citizen politics', instead they were the instruments of the £10 ratepayers. It was the urban middle class which ran local government, but importantly they also exercised a class and social power over society. The final section of this chapter completes the argument detailing how Scottish civil society was *governed*.

(VII) A Governed Civil Society

There is one final question which explains the relationship between the centre and the local state and explains the timing of this study. In the period in British history in which town growth so rapidly escalated, why was the local level of government the focus of the response to the ensuing urban challenge? In part this question has already been answered - a fear of centralised bureaucracy not responsive to the situation of individual towns and cities. This answer also includes the Whig philosophy expounded by Macaulay that government should be in the hands of 'good and worthy' men, that is the local bourgeoisie. Now this takes us to the remainder of the explanation. It has recently become part of mainstream accounts of middle class formation in the nineteenth century to stress the philanthropic activities of these local elites in an urban environment.[66] This activity, it is argued, was central to middle class formation and central to the exercise of class power. The reform of the Parliamentary franchise in 1832 and the democratisation of local government in 1833 and 1835, opened up the political world to the £10 householder, and in the words of Morris, "gave practical content of the idea of the town."[67] At the same time that the town councils grew, argue Morgan and Trainor, "... the proliferation of institutions and of posts for the making and execution of policy was at least as rapid in the voluntary societies"[68] From a beginning in the late eighteenth century, the volume and range of voluntary societies which were set up in the towns (especially) was immense. Their peak was in the 1830s and 1840s. The extent of Victorian philanthropy almost knew no bounds. Wrapped up in what Olive Checkland has called the 'principle of piety', the religious, the moralistic, the charitable, the self-help voluntary organisation reached almost every aspect of Victorian society. Indeed, the very structure of the voluntary society has been seen as expression of the whole host of competing and contradictory ideologies encompassed in the term 'Victorian values'[69] - a ready-to-wear cloak for the class consciousness of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie. The scope of the voluntary society ranged from help for the sick, the fallen, the uneducated, and the disadvantaged, to expressions of cultural power and status claims. For the newly enfranchised middle class, the voluntary society was the battle ground for its inter- and intra-class conflict.

It is the existence of this network of voluntary societies which explains why localism triumphed over centralism in this mid-century period. Almost any problem posed by the twin strains of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation could be met at the local

level by either the local authorities empowered by Parliament or by one or other specialist voluntary societies. As Morris makes plain :

> "In the key period of minimalist and regulatory action by the local state in the 1830s and 1840s, these voluntary societies commanded substantial local resources. It was not until the 1860s that it was realised that they could never raise enough money and they would therefore have to work with the state."[70]

So again our timing is well chosen : 1830-1860 is a unique period in British history. The voluntary society is the final piece in the jigsaw. If a nation-state means anything it is the the power of governing over a given territory. It is government over a geographically bounded society. The towns and cities of Scotland like the towns and cities in the rest of Britain had all the institutions necessary to govern their urban environments. They had a local state empowered by Parliament; they had voluntary societies with a range of functions to administer the fall-out from urbanisation and industrialisation. Importantly, Scotland also had a range of voluntary societies which transcended the local environment - the norm throughout the remainder of Britain - and instead dealt with issues affecting the Scottish nation (see chapters six and seven). The role of such Scottish national societies, and of those concerned solely with the urban environment, was to structure Edinburgh's civil society in the mid-nineteenth century under the will of the bourgeoisie

The point to end this chapter, however, is that with its Boards of Control and its Scotland-wide voluntary societies, Scotland did indeed have a civil society which was largely self-*governed.* Politics did not begin at Westminster : for Victorians it began at their own front gates. The Westminster Parliament is not the state that the British nation should immediately be connected to when one refers to nationalism in the nineteenth century. The strong and dominant and, importantly, first, layer of government existed at the local level. The appropriate measurement of nineteenth century Scottish nationalism can only be between this peculiar form of municipal self-government - a Scottish 'state' - and Scottish civil society.

The significance of understanding the structure of the decentralised Victorian parliamentary state, and the legal authority and class authority it enshrined for the bourgeoisie, which this chapter has outlined, is that it allows us to re-interpret the most influential theories of Scottish national identity in this period. Chapter three will explain how Scottish civil society has been theorised and, by so doing, will explain

exactly how the empirical link can then be made *from* the state/civil society axis *to* Scottish national identity.

[1] Hobsbawm, E. J. (1968) Industry and Empire Penguin Books, London : 225.

[2] For the best summery of the literature see : Taylor, Arthur J. (1972) Laissez-faire and State intervention in Nineteenth Century Britain, Macmillan, London.

[3] Kitson-Clark, G. S. R. (1967) An Expanding Society : Britain 1830-1900, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; Deane, P. (1965) The First Industrial Revolution, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

[4] Eg. Hobsbawm (1968) .

[5] Taylor (1972) : 12.

[6] Checkland, S. G. (1964) The Rise of Industrial Society in England, 1815-1885, Longmans, London : 412.

[7] Checkland (1964) : 413

[8] Although note that recent research has doubted the extent to which Britain was alone in its shift to free trade in this period : Nye, John Vincent (1991) "The myth of Free Trade Britain and Fortress France : Tariffs and Trade in the Nineteenth Century", The Journal of Economic History, Vol. 51, No. 1, March.

[9] Hobsbawm (1968) : 233.

[10] Checkland (1964) : 329.

[11] Thompson, F. M. L. (1988) The Rise of Respectable Society : A Social History of Victorian Britain, 1830-1900, Fontana Press, London : 311

[12] Checkland (1964) : 233

[13] Hobsbawm (1968) : 235

[14] More, C. (1989) The Industrial Age : Economy and Society in Britain, 1750-1985, Longman, Edinburgh : 216.

[15] Reproduced from Morris (1990d) "Table 1" p. 74.

[16] Gordon, George (1985) "The Changing City", in Gordon, George (ed.) Perspectives of the Scottish City, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen : 3. See MacDonald, Hector (1972) 'Public Health Legislation and Problems in Victorian Edinburgh, with special reference to the work of Dr. Littlejohn as Medical Officer of Health', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh.

[17] Census of Scotland presented in table 2.1 of Gray, R.Q. (1976) The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, The Claredon Press, Edinburgh : 9.

[18] Sutcliffe, Anthony (1982) "The growth of public intervention in the British urban environment during the Nineteenth century : a structural approach", in Johnston, James H. and Colin G. Pooley (eds.) The Structure of Nineteenth Century Cities, Croom Helm, London : 108.

[19] Checkland (1964) : 389.

[20] More (1989) : 209.

[21] Quoted in More (1989) : 217.

[22] Flinn, M. (ed.) (1965) 'Introduction' to Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain by Edwin Chadwick, 1842, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh : 39-40.

[23] More (1989) : 211.

[24] Crouzet, François (1982) The Victorian Economy, (Trans. A. S. Forster) Methuen, London : 108.

[25] Crowther, M. A. (1990) "Poverty, Health and Welfare", in Fraser, W. H and Morris, R. J. (eds.) People and Society in Scotland, Volume II, 1830-1914, John Donald, Edinburgh : 271.

[26] See Treble, J. H. (1979) Urban Poverty in Britain, 1830-1914, London.

[27] Crowther (1990) : 270, 271.

[28] Shaw, James E. (1942) Local Government in Scotland : past, present and future, Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh : 3-4.

[29] Campbell, R. H. (1985) Scotland since 1707 : The rise of an industrial society (2nd edition) John Donald, Edinburgh : 160.

[30] Smout, T. C. (1990) "Scotland 1750-1950" in Thompson, F. M. L. (ed) The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950, Volume 1 Regions and Communities, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge : 247.

[31] Levitt, Ian (ed.) (1988b) Government and Social Conditions in Scotland, 1845-1919, Scottish History Society, Edinburgh : xi-xix.

[32] Crowther (1990) : 272.

[33] Ian Levitt (1988a) Poverty and Welfare in Scotland, 1890-1948, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh : 51; also quoted in Crowther (1990) : 272.

[34] Levitt (1988a) : xi, xvii.

[35] Lynch, Michael (1991) Scotland : A New History, Century, London : 412.

[36] Flinn (1965) : 73. See Brotherston, J. H. F. (1952) Observations on the Early Public Health Movement in Scotland.

[37] Flinn (1968) : 72.

[38] Best, G. (1968) "The Scottish Victorian City", Victorian Studies, XI, 3, March : 335.

[39] Flinn (1965) : 41.

[40] Adams (1978) The Making of Urban Scotland, Croom Helm, London : 131.

[41] Smout (1990) : 246.

[42] Morris, R. J. (1990e) "Urbanisation in Scotland", in Fraser W. H. & R. J. Morris (eds.) : 86.

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Chapter Three
Theories of Nationalism and the Symbols of Scottish National Identity

In chapter one the ambiguities buried deep within the unitary British nation-state were outlined. The first chapter explained the existence of both nationalisms of the 'periphery' and a nationalism of the 'centre'. Each 'periphery' or 'centre' nationalism referred to one or other respective nation (i.e. England, Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Britain), but referred to only one state, the British state located at Westminster. This tension, and the competing and 'dual' national identities resulting, makes nationalism in Britain so complex to study. In turn, chapter two explained that the British state in the period 1830-60 was strongly influenced by the philosophy of *laissez-faire* and actively encouraged a process of empowering local elites and decentralised power structures. This was done against the background of an enfranchised bourgeoisie (1832), incorporated town councils (1833 and 1835), and a bourgeoisie which governed civil society through the medium of the voluntary association and a plethora of philanthropic and cultural societies (see chapters five to seven). It is now clear from the discussion in chapters one and two that, for the nineteenth century, the state was not a centralised, interventionist governmental structure, as has frequently been posited by those theorists who regard the United Kingdom as the greatest example of the European nation-state.[1] Having established the immense importance of decentralisation to the governing of Britain, and Scotland in particular, we are now in a position to re-evaluate our understanding of the Scottish nation and its state in the nineteenth century. This chapter, then, will begin the processes of placing mid-nineteenth century Scottish nationalism in its theoretical context. Having established the nature of the state in this period, this will be done by asking the question, to what extent do the theories of nationalism help us understand the expression of Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century?

The purpose of this chapter is therefore fourfold, and this determines its structure. In part one the contribution of the theories of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson to our understanding of nationalism will be examined. This will allow us to test the extent to which Scotland fails (or not) the definitional test of nation-hood. To try and reconcile Scotland to the theories of nationalism, part two will discuss some of the most important attempts to specifically address the issue of Scottish nationalism in the nineteenth century. The inadequacy of political definitions of Scottish nationalism will become clear, which will lead to part three, a study of the ideas of Anthony Smith and his arguments stressing the importance of the 'pre-modern past' in the construction of

nations. This will be built upon in part four, an attempt to operationalise an empirical inquiry into Scottish national identity. To replace a political analysis, part four will set out an agenda for understanding Scottish national identity based upon the contemporary interpretation given to the symbols of Scotland's 'past'.

(I) Political Theories of Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century

As chapter one made clear, there are problems with Scotland for any analysis of nationalism which requires a civil society to have its own state. This is especially apparent within the 'modernist' school of nationalism, those who regard nation-state formation as occurring only in the period of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In particular, tension arises when we try and apply to Scotland the theories of Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson, two of the most cited studies in the academic field and cornerstones of the modernist account.[2] In the definition of Gellner, nationalism is 'primarily a political principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' :

> "Nationalism is a theory of political legitimacy which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state ... should not separate the power holders from the rest."[3]

Benedict Anderson's premise is that nations, or rather nation-states, refer to an "imagined political community", one that is imagined to be both inherently limited in size and over which sovereignty exists.[4] Both Gellner's 'political unit' and Anderson's 'political community' rest on the correspondence between a national territory and and power to govern over it, and, of course, this has classically been one civil society and its state.

In Gellner's understanding of nationalism as a 'political principle', his argument rests upon the creation of common identities, creating what he calls, 'one coherent world, reduced to a unitary idiom'[5] Essential for the creation of the modern nation, therefore, is this move to a common understanding of a wider political identity achieved on the back of modernisation.

> "... a society has emerged based on a high-powered technology and the expectancy of sustained growth, which requires both a mobile division of labour and sustained, frequent and precise communication between strangers involving a sharing of explicit meaning, transmitted in a standard idiom and in writing when required."[6]

This process is central to what he terms 'exo-socialization', the production and reproduction of individuals outside the local intimate unit. This Gellner identifies as being the norm in industrial society. Fundamental to the common idiom is the mobilisation of 'the past' which constitutes the articulation (the publication) of shared identity - the culture of society. It is the need for exo-socialization which Gellner suggests is the clearest clue as to why the nation and its state must be linked.

This argument is similar to that of Anderson who has examined explicitly the move from local and individualistic identities to wider communal identities. Thus the first stage in the formation of adherence to the bounded nation-state was, he argues, the rise of the vernacular and its displacement of Latin. Anderson suggests that this was important both for breaking down the old religious dynasties and for replacing local by national identities amongst the mass of the population. The ability to imagine the nation-state was given the technical means by the rise of mass publication, of the newspaper and the novel, especially during the eighteenth century. This allowed the movement from the interior world of fiction to the exterior world of reality, giving 'a hypnotic confirmation of the solidity of a single community.'[7] The core of Anderson's thesis is therefore :

> "...that the convergence of capitalism and print technology on the fatal diversity of human language created the possibility of a new form of community, which in its basic morphology set the stage for the modern nation."[8]

From the work of both authors it can be see that, as society modernised, not only did it become *possible* for the individual to identify themselves with the nation, but it became necessary that the nation be created as a bounded political territory. Indeed, Ernest Gellner depicts nationalism as a functional necessity of modernisation, 'a theory of political legitimacy' for nations in this period. The bounded territory is important and, he argues, nationalism is a theory 'which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones.'[9] To be of the same nation each individual must be of the same culture and recognise this to be so. Gellner argues that nationalism 'needs' the state, and, interestingly, that nationalism does not arise when there is no state.[10] Similarly, the premise of Benedict Anderson's thesis, that nationalism refers to the ability to *imagine* a political community which is both inherently limited in area and where sovereignty exists, is one which requires the nation to control its own state. Differently from Gellner, who stresses the falsity and the fabrication of the history which, suggests he, is often used in the (pre-planned) construction of the nation by

elites, Anderson's focus is the particular form the imagination takes. So, in answer to the question, what is a nation-state? Anderson's definition comes not through an examination of the falsity or the genuineness of a claim, but 'the style in which it is imagined'.[11] For this imagination to be so, the existence of other nations must also be so : 'no nation imagines itself as coterminous with mankind', he points out. And the timing of this imagination in terms of sovereignty is, he argues, the eighteenth century, because it is in the age of Enlightenment and Revolution that the old hierarchical dynastic realms were destroyed.[12]

The theories of Gellner and Anderson have been singled out for attention because of their continuing influence on our understanding of the formation of nations and on the theories of nationalism. In trying to examine Scottish nationalism in the nineteenth century is is important that the theoretical ideal types - of official nationalisms - be understood and made plain.[13] Two essential definitional features are apparent from both Gellner and Anderson. The first is that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it became, technically at least, possible to identify with a wider community termed the nation. The use of history, either fabricated (Gellner) or imagined (Anderson), gave credence to the nation. Secondly, they argue, nationalism as a philosophy became a necessary feature of the nation, its purpose was to tie the political and the national together.

This understanding of nation-state formation is an essential counter-point to any study of Scotland nationalism. It is fairly uncontentious to argue that Scotland became a modern nation from the late eighteenth century onwards, along the lines Gellner and Anderson have outlined, but it failed to imagine political sovereignty over its well established territorial boundary. The Scottish state was shared and so, in Gellner's language, the political unit and the national unit were *not* congruent. From this definition, therefore, Scotland is, to paraphrase Gellner once more, one of the very large number of potential nations on earth, which fail to become nation-sates.

How then does this help us understand Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century? It is clear the Scottish nation did not become, nor did it demand to become, a nation-state (even if possible), so is the only answer to the study of Scottish nationalism in this period a negative one? Section (II) will examine this question in the context of specific attempts to 'fit' Scotland into theories of nationalism.

(II) Scottish Civil Society and its British State : the problem of Scotland

The 'problem' of nineteenth century Scotland for theorists of nationalism is that Scottish parliamentary political nationalism did not become relevant until the 1930s with the formation of the Scottish National Party. Even then, it was not until 1966 that the SNP stuttered with any impact into parliamentary political life with a by-election victory in Hamilton. This has led a number of authors to dismiss Scottish nationalism before the 1960s as ephemeral and irrelevant.[14] Two of the more widely read accounts of nationalism, with occasional but important references to Scotland, have been John Breuilly's Nationalism and the State and Eric Hobsbawm's Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Both authors place their theories of nationalism firmly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the classical period of state creation. Breuilly defines nationalism as 'modern' in the sense that he equates the *raison d'être* of any national movement with the acquisition of state power. Thus for Breuilly, nationalism is not a search for some sort of identity, instead it is primarily a form of politics, with the objective of gaining and using state power.[15] Breuilly concedes that there is some justification for looking at cultural identity, but insists that it has no political relevance in Scotland until the 1960s.[16] Hobsbawm uses the term nationalism explicitly in the sense defined by Ernest Gellner, namely to mean "primarily a principle which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent."[17] The implication of this congruence, he argues, is that it distinguishes modern nationalism from other less demanding forms of national or group identification which existed. Thus he employs a strictly parliamentary political definition, locked into modern unitary nation-state formation :

> "It [the nation] belongs exclusively to a particular, and historically recent, period. It is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the nation-state, and it is pointless to discuss nation and nationalism except insofar as both relate to it."[18]

In neither Breuilly nor Hobsbawm's definitions is it possible to place Scotland's national identity as an example of modern nationalism in the classical period of nation-state formation. Each excludes Scotland from their analysis because Scotland remained apart of the British unitary-state, and failed to amount a political challenge for its own state. By implication, both authors accept the British nation-state as a reality, ignoring the inherent contradictions of an absent British civil society. Neither, therefore, provides us with any analytical tools with which it could be possible to measure the strength or not of Scottish nationalism. Their strict political straitjacket

precludes any nationalism but 'official' nationalism - that of the unitary nation-state. But still, this does not advance our understanding of Scottish nationalism in the nineteenth century - that it was not parliamentary political is understood and accepted, but it is a rather superficial conclusion nevertheless

A more sophisticated account of the development of Scottish nationalism is the collection of essays by Tom Nairn.[19] Nairn equally places the rise of nationalism in the 'age of nationhood', but he has a much greater understanding of the relationship between Scottish civil society and the unitary British state created after 1707. In particular, Nairn has contrasted the development of Scotland within the British unitary state with the European experience of nation-building during the mid-nineteenth century. Nairn has argued that the norm of European nationalism was of one political state and its society, or one distinguishable ethnic society and its own state. But this did not happen in Scotland. To quote Nairn :

> "The Scots pattern so strikingly counterposed to the usual models is therefore that of a distinct civil society not married to 'its' state. It is one of heterogeneity, not that relative homogeneity which became the standard of nationalist development. A foreign, much stronger state and political system was imposed on Scotland by the Union."[20]

The point for Nairn is that this strong external state control allowed Scottish civil society the breathing space to develop free from the normal pressures of uneven capitalist development. Scotland experienced industrialisation quickly and early, done in conjunction with the 'first industrial nation'. This was unusual for most small nations and was to Scotland's economic benefit. McCrone and Smout have both argued this point in their respective critiques of Michael Hechter and the underdevelopment school.[21] Scotland was not simply the 'periphery' to England's economic 'core'. Nairn terms Scotland's economic advance and its strong external state a unique historical situation. Equally unique, he argues, was the reaction to London control by the Scottish bourgeoisie. It was because of their favourable socio-economic 'take-off' in the eighteenth century, that the Scottish manufacturing, commercial and professional elites were never forced to challenge the Union. In terms of British society, the Scottish urban middle class sought a degree of political change, but not such as to threaten their economic ascendency.[22]

It was because Scottish civil society had advanced so far and so quickly, and it was because the new bourgeois social classes inherited a socio-economic position at a

unique historical juncture vastly more favourable to that of any backward nationality, that there was no need for parliamentary nationalism. If it was not for this particular set of circumstances, the uneven spread of capitalism, which contributed to political nationalism elsewhere in Europe, would probably have occurred in Scotland. Nairn terms the result in Scotland as 'cultural sub-nationalism' - a sort of deformed nationalism; the result was an inferior culture and identity - a cultural neurosis.

Where Nairn is different from Breuilly and Hobsbawm is that although he sees Scottish nationalism as being weak, as having failed because it did not demand its own state, he argues that Scottish nationalism took on a cultural form : "it was cultural because of course it could not be political'.[23] Nairn then launches into a major analysis of Scottish culture in the nineteenth century under the heading of cultural sub-nationalism. It was a 'pathetic nationalism' - parochial and weak because it was not demanding its own state. Tartanry and kailyard came to to dominate in the nineteenth century as the symbols of Scotland, indicative, in Nairn's argument, of the failure of the Scottish bourgeoisie to challenge the British state

However, the problem with Nairn's account is that it too judges Scottish nationalism in terms of a nation demanding and requiring its own state. Nationalism in Scotland was not political because it did not want its own state, and because this does not happen, and Nairn shows there was no material need for it to happen, Scottish nationalism, and therefore Scottish culture in the nineteenth century, had deemed to have failed, to be left wallowing in the parochial. But as chapters one and two have set out, it is not valid to judge Scotland in terms of a nation-state to be, because it was an issue that had little relevance. The nature of the Victorian state was not a centralised one. It was anathema to contemporary thought to campaign for a Westminster-style Scottish state. Scottish nationalism, Scottish cultural sub-nationalism and Scottish culture, if they can be separated at all in the nineteenth century, must be understood in terms of a bourgeoisie that had all the power it needed to govern its own society. As has been suggested in chapter one, Scottish nationalism and politics could be satisfactorily combined by the Scottish bourgeoisie at the local level.

Where Nairn is most useful, however, is that he provides us with the analytical tools to understand to Scottish nationalism : the axis between Scottish civil society and the British state, with the Scottish bourgeoisie as central players. But, no matter how much his understanding of the development of Scottish civil society is correct, it is still premised on a false understanding of the British Victorian state. It is accepted that the

Scottish bourgeoisie did not challenge the British state, as Nairn argues, but it is argued here that this was because the Scottish bourgeoisie was empowered by a decentralised state, controlled civil society as a class project, and thus had no need to challenge the Union. If it can be sustained that the Scottish bourgeoisie did indeed have the power to govern their own civil society, then their material and their national aims can be said to be satisfied. This has one major implication : if the Scottish nation can be shown to be 'self-governing', then can the argument be sustained that the resulting Scottish national identity was weak, fragmented, ephemeral, locked into the familiar images of tartanry, kailyard, and self-doubt? This question is the crux of this thesis. The dominant discourse of nineteenth century Scottish national identity flows from an analysis of central states and parliamentary political nationalist movements; but this story belongs to other nations, it is not the story of Scotland. Capital 'P' political nationalism will yield nothing, there was nothing to find; the actions of the Scottish bourgeoisie within Scottish civil society, the ways and means that they governed that society, is the real axis of national identity.

Nairn, Anderson and Gellner all define the nation as a modern construct and the philosophy of nationalism as the product of (uneven) capitalist development. This is summed up by Gellner's paradox that 'nations can only be defined in terms of the age of nationalism and not, as you might expect, the other way round'[24] They acknowledge the importance of the 'past' and cultural differences to the expression of nationalism, but fundamentally the creation of the state, the homogenization of the nation, and the joining of the two under the banner of nationalism, was an inevitable product of modernity. Scotland, of course, does not fit these accounts. In its political experience, throughout the age of industrialisation and modernisation, a nation-state did not loom out of the primordial Scottish nation. Is the conclusion, therefore that Scottish nationalism was absent in the nineteenth century? A strict interpretation of these theories makes this the only outcome. The Scottish nation failed to gain sovereignty over its nation; it failed to imagine a political community because it shared its state with the rest of Britain. But the argument of this thesis has been that the Scottish nation was largely 'self-governing'. How then are we to understand Scotland's nationalism? Our important route to an answer lies with the work of Anthony Smith and his adaptation of the modernist account of nationalism.

(III) Nations and their pre-modern 'ethnie'

In apparent contrast to the strictly modernist account is the 'ethnic continuity school', as exemplified by Anthony Smith.[25] Smith shows that any concept of the nation is

wholly dependent on how the cultural attributes of that nation are shaped and mobilised. In Scotland, as elsewhere, this occurred during the age of nationalism, but in Scotland it took place within the concept of the Union. Smith tried to explore the concept of the nation as none other than 'an enlarged ethnic community.' To quote Smith :

> "... there can be no identity without memory (albeit selective), no collective purpose without myth, and identity and purpose are necessary elements of the very concept of a nation. But this is also true of the very concept of an ethnic community."[26]

Whereas the notion of political community, and the importance of a legal framework and the institutions of the state, are central to western theories of nationalism, Smith argues, for East European and Asian nationalism, that vernacular language and (folk) culture should be stressed.[27] There is, therefore, some doubt about the universal application of the formation of nations as argued by the modernists. However, the importance of Smith's work is in the emphasis it gives to the use made, and the delimiting influence of, various types of myth in the construction of the 'ethnie'. In Smith's definition the 'ethnie' refers to the ethnic community "formed through symbolism, depicting ancestry, history, common culture and solidarity, along with a common name."[28] Heroes, celebrations and common understanding, expressed through symbols and icons are essential to feelings of national identity. The ethnie is not interchangeable between nations, it is fixed to the historical past of a particular nation. But it is malleable, and as such, although the raw materials may be the same, the interpretation of the past changes over time. The ethnie is the focal point of the analysis of national identity.

A problem with Smith's 1986 work was his failure to acknowledge the importance of Gellner's paradox "that it was in the age of nationalism that nation-states were formed, not, as one might think, the other way round." The logical conclusion of Smith's idea of ethnic community, which played down the political community, was open to the possible theoretical existence of more nation-states than could viably exist.[29] However more recently Smith has accepted that "nationalism, as a doctrine and ideological movement, did arise in the modern era, in the eighteenth century to be more precise."[30] He has accepted that nations are modern phenomena in so far as they are (a) legally unified with the existence of citizenship rights; (b) based on a single economy; (c) have a compact territory which is easily defensible; and (d) require a

single 'political culture' to socialize 'citizens' of the future.[31] But still his central argument remains intact :

> "Ethnic distinctiveness remains a *sine qua non* of the nation, and that means shared ancestry myths, common historical memories, unique cultural markers, and a sense of difference, if not election - all the elements that marked off ethnic communities in pre-modern eras. In the modern nation they must be preserved, indeed cultivated, if the nation is not to become invisible."[32]

No matter how modern the formation of nations and nation-states was, their very form is dependent on their own pre-modern ethnie. This is true as much for Scotland as for all over nations, and its importance is that it is our pathway to understanding the expression of Scottish national identity. To what extent did the Scottish ethnie contribute to the creation of the Scottish nation, and to what extent did the Scottish nation imagine, if not sovereignty, then 'self-governing' over its territory? How much can we read into the symbols of Scottish national identity?

(IV) The Modern Nation and its ethnie : symbols and imagined communities

To bury finally the parliamentary political misconception of Scottish national identity in the nineteenth century, the remainder of this chapter will explain why the most accurate route empirically to operationalising a measurement of Scottish national identity is through the celebration of the Scottish ethnie by the enfranchised Scottish bourgeoisie. The product of the bourgeoisie's governing of Scottish civil society was expressed through the celebration of certain symbols and icons of Scotland's national 'past'. This final section will explain why mid-nineteenth century Scottish national identity can only be gathered through an analysis of contemporary interpretations of the symbols of Scotland.

The importance of the work of Smith is to show that although the nation-state may essentially be modern, its formation is rooted in its ethnie, and hence it is not wholly a creation from the 'Age of Enlightenment' because it requires pre-modern constructs, and is increasingly formed in the image of the older ethnie.[33] This is an objective Hobsbawm, elsewhere, has termed 'invariance with the past', achieved through the 'invention of tradition : a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'.[34] Or, as Smith defines the use made of apparent continuity with the past : "The

modern nation to become truly a 'nation', requires the unifying myths, symbols and memories of the pre-modern ethnie."[35] It is the lucky-dip of the historical past of a community's nationalism which determines the form the claim to nationalism will take. Where Anthony Smith is more convincing than the strictly modernist accounts is in his treatment of the mobilisation of the symbols of the past by social groups. Rather than regarding this 'past' as being infinitely malleable, Smith stresses their limitations. The point is that there are certain symbols attached to a historical past which are used by nationalist groups in their attempts to support or create a nation-state, but these are limited by what exists in the community or what can reasonably be 'invented'. Connected to this, Smith makes one final important point : the creation of the nation out of ethnic symbols is not a permanent construction, it is a recurrent activity which has to be reviewed periodically. This is done, he argues, through the "product of dialogues between the major social groups and institutions within the boundaries of the 'nation', and it answers to their perceived ideals and interests."[36] The question is, of course, of the major social groups who has the loudest voice.

The point to be taken from this section is that if we accept that that the nation-state is a modern construct, we must also realise that its very form is limited by the materials making up its ethnie. To understand Scottish nationalism we must examine the ethnic materials which define 'Scotland' the concept. They are limited, but there does exists a set of symbols which can be identified as being explicitly Scottish. Importantly, the study of the nineteenth century interpretation by the bourgeoisie of the symbols of Scotlands 'past' will determine the extent (or not) that any conception of self-government was imagined. It is this which takes us to a study of the symbols of Scottish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century and which explains further why a strictly political explanation is inadequate.

We are now in a position to empirically test the nature of the state/civil society axis in nineteenth century Scotland and to then understand the expression of Scottish national identity. Chapter four will explain the methodology employed in this empirical examination, with the results presented in the chapters which follow. In chapters five, six and seven a detailed examination is carried out of the ways and means that the Edinburgh bourgeoisie governed their civil society, and these chapters will examine the extent of their success. In chapters eight and nine, a study is carried out of contemporary interpretations of the symbols of Scottish national identity. These two chapters will build on the argument presented here, following on from Smith, that a nation is made up from the particular use made of its ethnie. This mid-nineteenth

century interpretation of the Scottish ethnie is, it will be argued, directly linked to a civil society governed by its bourgeoisie.

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3 Gellner (1983) : 1.

4 Anderson (1983) : 14.

5 Gellner (1983) : 21.

6 Gellner (1983) : 33-34.

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8 Anderson (1983) : 49

9 Gellner (1983) : 1.

10 Gellner (1983) : 5.

11 Anderson (1983) : 15.

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13 The different 'types' of nationalism are explained in Kellas, James G. (1991) The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Macmillan, London.

14 For example : Webb, Keith (1977) The Growth of Nationalism in Scotland, The Molendinar Press, Glasgow; Brand, Jack (1978) The National Movement in Scotland, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London; Keating , Michael (1979) Labour and Scottish Nationalism, Macmillan, London.

15 Breuilly (1982) Nationalism and the State, Manchester University Press, Manchester : 1-2.

16 Breuilly (1982) : 282

17 Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990) Nations and Nationalism since 1870 : Programme, Myth, Reality, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge : 9.

18 Hobsbawm (1990) : 9-10.

19 Nairn, Tom (1981) The Break-Up of Britain, (2nd edition) Verso, London

20 Nairn (1981) : 135-6; this argument is extended throughout the essay 'Old and New Scottish Nationalism'.

21 McCrone (1992) : 61-62; Hechter (1975) Internal Colonialism : The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London; Hechter (1982) 'Internal Colonialism Revisited', Cencrastus, 10; Smout, T. C. (1980a) 'Scotland and England : is dependency a symptom or a cause of underdevelopment?', Review, Vol. 3, No. 4; Smout (1980b) 'Centre and Periphery in History', Journal of Common Market Studies, Vol. 18, No. 3.

22 Nenadic, Stana (1988) 'The Rise of the Urban Middle Class' in Devine, T. M. & Mitchison, R. (eds) People and Society in Scotland, vol. 1, 1760-1830, John Donald, Edinburgh : 124

23 Nairn (1981) : 156

24 Gellner (1983) : 55.

25 Smith, Anthony D. (1986) The Ethnic Origin of Nations, Basil Blackwell, Oxford

26 Smith (1986) : 2.

27 Smith (1986) : 12.

28 Smith (1988) 'The myth of the 'Modern Nation' and the myths of nation', Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 11, No. 1 : 9.

29 Indeed, Zubiada has questioned Smith's insistence that the formation of nations is *determined* by pre-modern history : Zubaida, Sami (1989) "Nations : old and new. Comments on Anthony D. Smith's 'The myth of the 'Modern Nation' and the myths of nations", Ethnic and Racial Studies, Vol. 12, No. 3.

30 Smith (1988) : 5

31 Smith, Anthony D. (1991) National Identity, Penguin, London : 69.

[32] Smith (1991) : 70.
[33] Smith (1988) : 10.
[34] In Hobsbawm E. and Ranger, T. (eds) (1983) The Invention of Tradition, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge : 1-2
[35] Smith (1988) : 11
[36] Smith (1986) : 206.

Chapter Four
Interconnections - the Methodology of Nominal Record Linkage

This chapter will explain both the methodology employed in this study and the nature of the chosen sources. It has been argued so far that the governing of society was carried out at the local level. In chapter two it was explained how the central state empowered the local state throughout this 1830-1860 period. Chapter three demonstrated how the social theorists have emphasised the unique strength of Scotland's civil society since the Union of 1707. It was also postulated that it terms of the day-to-day governing of civil society, the grip of the middle class was pervasive and strong. It was suggested that the middle class had the means of administering the industrial society within their own urban domain. In chapters five, six and seven, the empirical evidence will be examined to explain how the middle class dominated its civil society. As a precursor to that examination, however, it is essential that the methodology behind the analysis is made clear and, firstly, why Edinburgh was chosen as a case-study.

To try and test empirically the extent to which the bourgeoisie controlled nineteenth century Scottish urban society was, and is, a daunting task. The first 'coping mechanism' employed by this researcher was to choose a case study in order to make the research project manageable. Edinburgh was chosen for a number of reasons, of which the three most important were as follows : The first is that as capital, Edinburgh has obviously long been the focus of links been Scotland and the British state. It was thus the logical choice for analysing the rhetoric of Scottish nationalism. This relationship produced, secondly, an intellectual class who have long debated the Act of Union and Scotland's relationship with England. Their discourses are central to understanding Scottish national identity, and such sources are to be found in the Edinburgh archives. Thirdly, as shall be explained below, a central component of this thesis is a study of the bourgeoisie and, of course, Edinburgh is 'that most middle class of cities'; however, Edinburgh not only provided many examples of the bourgeoisie, but its archives preserved a source, the Edinburgh Pollbook for the general election of 1852, which could be used as a working definition of the Edinburgh middle class mid-century. This Pollbook, corrected in 1854 by the Appeal Court, included all those whose property ownership was £10 or greater, and were registered to vote, thus providing the perfect source to identify a Scottish urban bourgeoisie during the European 'Age of Nationalism'.[1] As shall be argued below, this pollbook was the

most suitable starting point from which it was then possible to recreates the networks of middle class control over urban society

Once Edinburgh had been chosen as the focus of the research, a methodology was required to bring together all the many instances of middle class involvement in the public life of society and to demonstrate their control and exercise of power. Not only was it necessary to explain the range of this involvement (chapter six), but it was necessary to examine whether an elite group could be identified who effectively ran the 'commanding heights', as it were, of civil society (chapters five and seven). The maintenance of status and the exercise of urban power through status power are central to elite membership.

The methodology chosen to examine the maintenance of this hegemonic power was Nominal Record Linkage. This is a methodology which allows the linkage of many sources and is therefore ideal for bringing together the networks of membership. The appropriateness of this methodology to uncovering the governing of civil society will be discussed in the first section of this chapter. The details and the mechanics behind this methodology, as they are applied in this study, will be uncovered in the second section. A description and justification of the codes employed to classify occupational titles will be given in the third section. Section four will present a working definition of Edinburgh's civil society, suitable for empirical analysis. While in the fifth and concluding section some caveats will be flagged regarding the nature of the sources used in this study.

(I) Social Network Analysis and Nominal Record Linkage

As was pointed in chapter two, central to many recent contributions to nineteenth century urban history are ideas of elite power exercised through a series of political and social activities.[2] The thesis of Weber in his essay The City is our entry point to an analysis of networks of power.[3] Weber speaks of power as something that is exercised through a number of agencies. As cities grew, the potential for an elite or a group to dominate became institutionalised in a number of areas. In the context of the nineteenth century the nature of local government control was predominantly free from centralised decision making, and instead local government was empowered. Essential to conceptions of governing the urban world was what can be called 'public life involvement'. Power became institutionalised in a 'public life' that was as wide as it was carefully charted. In part this power had an administrative-cum-class dimension. It was of a newly enfranchised middle class adding political power to its emerging

economic and professional power; but this activity was also part of the politico-legal exclusiveness of an urban elite. The institutions of local government were tools of urban domination in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

However, in conjunction with economic and political power, we should also note that there is a third dimension to power in industrialized urban society in the nineteenth century. Power, of the individual, the group, the class, was closely tied up with conceptions of status and hierarchies of differential reward. Pre-industrial society was dominated by the power of social position - the dominance of the landed elite and of patronage relations - and it remained strong, albeit urban focused, in industrial society.[4] Central to elite exclusivity in both the urban and the rural world was the maintenance of a finely graded set of social roles. Each set of social roles was commensurate with social honour and thus social influence. It is this conception of power, and the exercise of it, which makes the component of status important to study. Its manifestation is cultural life-style. Empirically this is the more difficult to test. It is proposed here that we can examine the empirical manifestations of status through urban life-style as it is present in networks of association. Hence to understand middle class power, the power of status, we need to explore the source of their social power as exercised through their associational activity in public life mid-century.

Weber has written that status is ascribed to social role.[5] In his classic account status is expressed through positive or negative social estimation of honour. Status is judged through social role as it is manifested in the notion of style of life. By this conceptualisation Weber is initially referring to a formal education following from certain occupational positions within society. Status is also maintained and expressed through social consumption, endogenous closure in marriage, and certain customary or status conventions. What results are status groups which are communal groups with privileged access to scarce resources, especially where these resources entail a cultural, moral or symbolic attribute.[6]

The reason why networks of association influence the ascription of status is that they maintain a hierarchy of prestige to which are linked restrictions on social intercourse which, in turn, maintain the hierarchy. Goldthorpe picks up on the importance of social intercourse for a definition of status. He summarizes his notion of prestige as referring "to the position of an individual or a group within a structure of relations of deference, acceptance and derogation, which represents a distinctive, *'symbolic' aspect*

of social stratification" [emphasis added]. Goldthorpe goes on to operationalize his definition of status as the :

> "relative advantage and power in terms of prestige stem[ing] from the ability of an actor to exploit and benefit from meanings and values - rather than, say, economic resources, authority or physical force."[7]

So to understand the concept of status we are required to examine the meanings and values behind the symbols of status. However to complete our understanding we must also note that the symbolic understanding which maintains status hierarchies is a two-way process. It requires an interaction between the individual and the rest of society. Bryan S. Turner, following the work of Parsons, develops his definition of status along these lines :

> "... a status is a position within the social structure by which an individual, according to various assembled and achieved criteria, is evaluated by reference to prestige or honour (Parsons, 1970). This evaluation will be both personal and objective, in that one's self evaluation is closely related to external evaluation that one receives from significant others according to one's position in the social hierarchy".[8]

Status, then, is non-commodifiable; it is instead more a recognition of position, an 'understanding' and acceptance of a person's social role. It is this idea of status being attached to social role that is important. If we then look at the work of Erving Goffman in his famous set of essays The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life[9] we are able to shed new light on the 'social role' and therefore our understanding of status networks and, ultimately, the expression of national identity.

In his analysis of how we as members of society present our persona, our 'self', to others, Goffman suggests there are a number of social 'fronts' to be chosen from. By this he means there are a number of sets of messages which are attached to social roles which can be chosen to present to others as if to say, 'this is me'. Each social role has its own status and, of course, each status has its own social role. If we wish to claim a certain status then we must perform its attached social role. We must carry out the right performance, we must present the correct front. The performance must be believed, both by the performer and by the audience. The acceptance of the front by the audience is a fragile thing. The audience has the power to dismiss the performance as false, but more usually the purpose of the audience is to provide the consensus for the performance to be accepted. To create a 'working consensus' the audience has got to recognise the right of the performer to claim a social role and to recognise this right the audience must have previous knowledge of the performer. In Goffman's

characterisation the audience, through the socialization process, already has part knowledge of what sort of performance is acceptable to which social role. The performer has got to complete the presentation of that social role before it is finally judged. What the audience is then to decide is if the performer is justified or not in his or her claim to establish a legitimate status position. This is the sharpest point of the two-way interaction between the individual and society. To lay claim to a high status the performer must be known to have successful claims recognised to lesser grades of social honour. Any performer will clearly be regarded as an 'upstart' or a 'nouveau' if their credentials are not consistent, adequate and valid. To judge whether or not the candidate for current or higher status is worthy, the audience must be aware of the 'totality' of the claimant's identity. They require more than knowledge of the constituent parts of the claimant's performances, of his or her fronts of previously acceptable prestige, to place the claimant in their social position. The audience requires to know and accept as many of these fronts as is possible so to know. It is only when the totality is known that the constituent fronts can be re-evaluated and claims to higher status recognised or not.

From this it can be gathered that the performer must project clear messages concerning their social position, their self. To test empirically the relationship between status and social role, as conceptualised by Goffman, is central to the meaning of 'public power' used in this thesis. To test empirically the relationship between identity and social role is equally central to this thesis. For both, the empirical data come from the statements of the presentation of self in the public life of nineteenth century bourgeois society. It can therefore be understood that the dominant reason for allowing one's name to appear on a list was as a public statement to maintain present status or in pursuit of a claim for greater status. For the middle class in the mid-nineteenth century, claims to status and statement of identity involved manipulating the public life of their civil society. It was an age where protest, argument and statement were articulated through petitions, organizations and associations.[10] To be part of middle-class-lead civil society meant publishing one's name in many places, creating many sources. Social power was achieved by publicly proclaiming who you were and what you stood for. Claims to power in an urban society involved many public acts : you, or at least your name, had to be seen to be believed.

It is when we can discover the totality of these public statements, the totality of these claims to social power, that we can better understand the workings of the interaction which maintains hierarchies of status in everyday life. It can therefore be seen why

record linkage is such a useful methodology for understanding the concepts of status and identity. Through record linkage we can bring together the repertoire of claims to social power. By so doing we can then present the totality of an individual's presentation, and use this to go back to explain why the individual's constituent performances are or are not accepted. As Goffman himself describes the individual performances, they "all are dynamic issues created by motivation to sustain a definition." The definition is the presentation of self - achieved through the practicalities of the maintenance of status in everyday life. We must re-create the networks of status claims so to understand both elite formation and class formation. We must re-create the networks of public/social power to understand the nature of government by the urban bourgeoisie. The next section of this chapter will detail the technical decisions behind the methodology of nominal record linkage.

(II) Nominal Record Linkage : Philosophy and Technical Specifications.

At its heart nominal record linkage works by achieving a match between two nominal entries, from two separate sources, but are temporally and geographically close, and are similar or matching in attached information, such as address, occupation, title, etc. It is therefore ideal as a methodology to bring together the various status claims and expressions of identity of an individual, and also to re-create the totality of these claims.

In the early days of its development in the 1960s, advocates of record linkage worked on the assumption that for any matched pair of nominal entries the more additional pieces of information to aid confidence in successful linkage the better.[11] It was acceptable for a sample population to include a set of linked records where some of the links may be unfulfilled in one major criteria - such as occupation - alongside other records which may have only some minor criteria unfulfilled - say, vote : all information was taken as relevant and was to be used.

Later, within the philosophy of nominal record linkage, the use in analysis of linked pairs of variable quality was argued to be unacceptable by a new generation of researchers. It was suggested that by lumping many records together all sense of the variation in the "confidence" of linkage was lost. Prominent proponents of this new approach include Phillips, Baskerville and Morris[12], although all vary in - sometimes significant - detail. The first two authors both suggest that it is the development of linking programs which can run and make links successively, rather than simultaneously, which now makes it possible to differentiate the strength of various

linked documents. Speck and Gray[13], the pioneers of this computerised approach, have rightly been criticized by Baskerville for their failure to develop some notion of the varying strengths of links. The three recent authors all use an approach to record linkage where successful linkage depends on the degree of correspondence between the information attached to nominal entries in two or more sources. But crucial to the argument of Baskerville is that by being able to differentiate the success or not in fulfilling the linkage criteria, it is possible to qualify and quantify the chance of assertions based on the linked population being correct, making it possible to make a 'preference' to which links to accept. In fact Mark Skolnick had previously suggested that it was possible to construct likelihood coefficients, allowing the strength of the links to be statistically established so benefiting any comparisons.[14]

It is this notion of 'preference' which is crucial to the argument of Baskerville. He proposes that it is possible to conduct analysis on linkages based on a sliding scale of confidence levels. However there are strong reasons to question whether Baskerville's 'preference' codes or such a statistical measure as proposed by Skolnick would add anything further to our knowledge or aid us in our linkage decisions. We should be careful before we allow ourselves to be drawn into such a sense of security through a measurable statistical level of significance when the nature of the data is so unreliable, making linkage, no matter the rigidity of linkage rules employed, often a hit or miss affair. The inherent fuzziness of all historical data should act as warning enough. Mis-spelling, errors, omissions, and political bias are just some of the commonplace problems with nominal lists. In his most recent work, Baskerville has acknowledged such problems and has partially moved away from the creation of a preference hierarchy resultant from the employment of algorithms empowering semi-automated linkage. Instead the computer is to be used merely to 'assist' linkage, to help bring like-names and like-addresses to the attention of the historian. The researcher is to regain control over the linkage decision making process - a process Baskerville and his colleagues refer to as 'individuation'.[15]

A more philosophical difficulty with nominal record linkage has been forcefully propounded by Ian Winchester : that there is never any logical certainty that our records are referring consistently to whom we think they are referring.[16] John Scott put it thus :

> "Winchester has pointed out that such decisions are often based on an inadequate empiricist view of knowledge in which it is assumed that there is an unproblematic correspondence between a name in a record and a real person."[17]

An individual is one thing, a nominal entry is something else. This, then, casts further doubt on the validity of an approach such as that of Baskerville with its apparent conflation between biography and multiple record linkage.

John Scott also identified a paradox in the assumptions behind the methodology of record linkage :

> "... the greater the certainty in making a link, the less the information that will be obtained. If two documents, each containing a large number of items prove to have a perfect consistency, then there will be a very strong certainty that they refer to the same person. But in this case the documents will be, to all intents and purposes, identical and no additional information will have been produced from using a second document. In order to achieve additional information, the second document must differ from the first in theoretically and empirically relevant respects; and where the documents differ, the certainty of any linkage will be lower. The paradox is that the acquisition of information requires uncertainty in the linkage of records."[18]

Uncertainty in record linkage is exacerbated here because almost every piece of empirical information we could use for linkage is likely to act as a source of bias. For example, if we link predominantly on address we bias our linkages towards the more stable sections of the population - the chances are that the young and the mobile are excluded. If occupation is used then there will bias towards the high status occupations, more likely to be recorded and more likely to stay unchanged. Nor can we ignore the problem of multiple occupations - where an individual will be employed doing a number of different activities, such as inn keepers who were also saddlers. If we link on religion we loose out on the irreligious, the less devout and those who are inconsistent in their admissions to alternatives to the Establishment. Information such as date of birth, so rarely given in any source but the census, is often a positive help to linkage, but again inaccuracies in recording and memory retention are well known. All such common variables come with their own baggage of biases.

It can therefore be seen that the notion of 'preferred' linkage, albeit a refined one on earlier attempts, still cannot overcome the prevalence of source bias. It is a no-win situation. The only alternative is to try and reduce bias by excluding the usual range of variables used for linkage. The only applicable variable, then, is the nominal entry itself, free of all other information.

It is generally assumed that surnames are evenly dispersed in a population - *if that population is large enough with a steady flow of in and out migration.* This is not the case for, say, a small manufacturing town dominated by one or two employers or

extended families - and for similar reasons this methodology is not appropriate for record linkage in any (pre-industrial) period before the nineteenth century. This alternative to the hierarchical approach of variable quality in linkage of variable fields epitomised by Baskerville, and based on a different notion of preferred links, comes from R. J. Morris. In this philosophy of record linkage the notion of preferred linkage is basically a dichotomous one. Linkage is made, first and foremost, at the level of 'unique name' and only then, secondly, at the level of address. If a nominal entry is unique in one list, and also unique in another list, then this is regarded as a true link. It is only when such uniqueness is not available that the additional information of address is employed.

By linking first and foremost on unique name we overcome the problem of systematic bias which is inherent in the use of supplementary information. But this is merely a trade-off. The downside of the unique names approach is that it is certain that a number of the links made will be false. It is clear that with a unique match on, say, the name Michael Smith, it is quite feasible that one Michael Smith left the population and was replaced by a separate individual of the same name. It is also feasible that a population has two Michael Smiths, and one individual only is picked up by one sources and the remaining individual is picked up in the other source. In both cases the linked pair obviously refers to two separate individuals. To employ this methodology we must accept the trade-off in favour of false links rather than the systematic bias of linkage with numerous source information. In this study it has been decided to accept a degree of false linkage in the expectation that they are random throughout the population. With this assumption the argument can then be sustained that such irregularities will in the aggregate not influence group activities that are under study.[19] For the study of the individual - the biography - as much information as can be gathered should be used, although noting the caveats of Winchester and Scott above. But when we are dealing with thousands of nominal entries then a unique names approach is the least susceptible to bias and therefore the most flexible for further analyses. It is because of our criticisms of the Baskerville approach that the methodology of unique names has been adopted in this study.

(III) Technical Specifications

Ten levels of linkage criteria were established[20] : levels 0 - 9. Levels 0, 1 and 2 dealt with sources at the level of unique name, without the aid of additional information. If a nominal entry was unique in one list and matched a unique entry in another list then that pair were categorized as level 1 links. Level 2 links were the same but where slight

name variations were apparent. Level 0 was used for a unique name in one list which had no possible pair in the other list. It was called a true null link, and coded level zero. Level 3 was used to mop up unique links or true null links established through second or third entries. Occasionally the same nominal entry will occur more than once in the same list - level 3 dealt with such occurrences, but was little used. Level 6 was used after a failure to link at the level of unique name (level 1) or at the level of a true null link (level 0) and was where address was used to differentiate individuals with identical names. Level 5 was reserved for nominal entries which had *become* unique *at the level of address*, after pairs were matched in level six. After elimination under the criteria of level six this group had become null at the level of address. Level 4 also dealt with the residual from level sixes. But rather than dealing in null link at address level this category is for *pairs* which have *become* unique at the level of address. Level seven, like level three dealt with multiple entries but at the level of address. Level 8 was for linkage on occupation and was used when all else failed. Because occupation was an important variable in the analysis it was planned to avoid any bias towards linkage using this variable. Level nine was the category to catch those nominal entries about which there was insufficient information to match at either unique name, address or occupation levels, nor was it possible to assign such an entry as a null link.

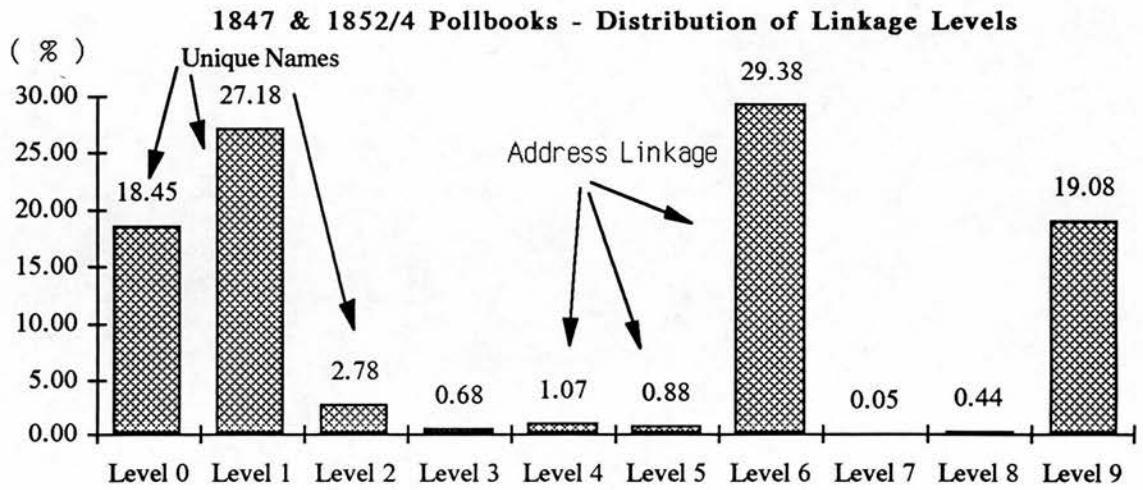
The ten linkage levels are summarized below :

Figure 4.1

Level 0	No link at unique name level.
Level 1	Link at unique name level.
Level 2	As above, slight name variation.
Level 3	Second/third entry linked or null at unique name level
Level 4	Unique pairs at address level.
Level 5	Null at address level.
Level 6	Linked at address level.
Level 7	Second/third entry linked or null at address level.
Level 8	Linked at occupation level.
Level 9	Not possible to link or give null link.

Levels 1 and 6 are the most important for analysis - and this can be demonstrated by example. When the 1852/4 Pollbook was linked to a list of voters who voted for Charles Cowan in the 1847 General Election, the distribution of links using the the above criteria was as follows[21] :

Figure 4.2



N=2049

Figure 4.2 shows that there is an almost equal split between those linked at the level of unique name (29.96 % - Levels 1 and 2), and those linked at the level of address (29.39 % - Level 6). In all we have achieved almost 80% successful linkage, with only 19.08% of the sample (Level 9) of whom we can say nothing about.

An important caveat must be added to these figures. It is that with this methodology the degree of unique name linkage will always be smaller for a Scottish population than that of comparable studies in England.[22] This is due to the effects of the Clan system. James Stark's analysis of the Index of the British Register, for the Registrar General in Edinburgh in 1864, found that in Scotland there were 6,823 separate surnames for a total registered number of births amounting to 104,018. This meant that there were 15.2 persons to every surname or 6.5 different surnames to every 100 persons. The English proportion, ascertained in the same manner by the Registrar-General in England in 1855, was 8.4 persons to every surname, or 11.9 surnames in every 100 persons (Sixteenth Annual Report, p. xviii).[23] This demonstrates that fewer surnames existed in Scotland. And it should be noted that the Scottish figure was inflated by the influx of 1000 uniquely Irish surnames from in-migration in the 1820s and 1840s. So much so, the Registrar General argued, "Were it not ... for the enormous addition to the surnames in recent years, the proportion of persons attached to each surname in Scotland would be more than double the proportion of England". As it was, when the

fifty most common names were compared (Appendix 1), it was found that in Scotland these fifty embraced 29.6% of all names entered on the Registers, while in England the comparable figure was roughly 18%.[24] So when the unique names approach to nominal record linkage is applied to a Scottish population, we should expect there to be a high(er) degree of common names and a low(er) occurrence of unique names.

Such a prevalence of common names carries two implications for this methodology which must be noted. Firstly, it is that common names will rarely be unique in a list, and that if such entries are to be linked the likelihood is that it will be on address (level 6) or not at all (level 9). This emphasises that there is no differential hierarchy between level 1 and level 6 links in the analysis and that there is no mutual exclusivity between the two. Secondly, it should be noted that those who have moved address, but are unique names, will be matched at level 1, but those with a non-unique name in a list, will in all likelihood be confined to level 9 - because of a different address we can not categorize them level 6s.

(IV) The 'Base'

As was stated at the start of this chapter, the the 1852/4 Pollbook was being used as a means of defining the middle class in Edinburgh mid-century. As such the pollbook acted as the 'base' population to which all other lists were linked. The 'base' is taken as the 'sampled' population representing the middle class in Edinburgh, around which all other linkages are made.[25] To create interlinkages the population must be established as a self-contained and enclosed entity. Warnings were flagged in the previous section is to the dangers of constantly shifting population to unique names linkage. Thus the purpose of the 'base' is to act as an empirical tool to establish an hermetically sealed sample population for analysis.

Because of the size of the sources that are the most suitable for the construction of the base, it is often necessary to sample the sources. In fact in a study of Bradford it was decided to forgo using the pollbooks for record linkage because of the lack of resources to make the 2000 entries from each of the 1833, 1841, 1847, and 1859 pollbooks. Instead the researcher confined his 'base' population to the census enumerators' books.[26] An alternative approach was seen in a recent study of Glasgow.[27] Here it was decided to use a sampling procedure to construct the 'base'.[28] It was noted that the Glasgow Directory of 1832 included nearly 9,000 entries, while that of 1861 had about 17,000; there were similar numbers in the Electoral Lists, therefore a sampling procedure was followed.[29] Conventional random sampling could not be used in this

instance. The likelihood of obtaining a statistically significant sample to act as a 'base' population from two randomly sampled lists, then linked by name, is very small. Instead a procedure has been developed, letter cluster sampling, which simulates random sampling. It involves randomly choosing individuals whose first letter of their surname falls within a chosen cluster of letters. The two Edinburgh pollbooks contain a total of around 7,000 entries, the Trade Directory around 20,000. Because, for this project, the pollbook is 100% complete in machine readable form, there is little to be gained in entering the Trade Directories complete, and the 1852/4 pollbook acts as the 'base'. However, since the Edinburgh Pollbook is being relied upon solely to act as the 'base', it was deemed prudent to test its appropriateness as a representative indicator of the Edinburgh middle class. An examination was undertaken of the relationship between surname and the distribution of occupational titles. Letter cluster samples were taken of the Post Office Directory for 1854 and of the Pollbook. Each letter of the alphabet was assigned a number from 0 to 25 and, using a random number table, four letters were chosen to act as representatives of each population. The letters were B, C, K, and N. Because of the size of the Directory, only the first 150 of surnames starting with the letters B and C were taken, while K and N were taken in total. Those without an occupational title were excluded from the totals as they are presented below. The percentage distribution of occupational title by sampled letter-cluster is shown below in Table 4.1. Included is a comparison with the known distribution from the Pollbook [The coding decisions taken with respect to the occupational titles are explained in the next section].

TABLE 4.1

Selected Sample of Names by Occupational Distribution

Comparison of P.O. Directory & Pollbook

Occ. Code	Directory B's %(n=91)	Directory C's %(148)	Directory K's %(305)	Directory N's %(131)	Pollbook B's %(547)	Pollbook C's %(600)	Pollbook K's %(220)	Pollbook N's %(121)	Total Pollbook %(6619)
10	1.1	2.03	0.66	1.53	1.28	1.3	0	0	**1.47**
11	2.2	0.68	0.98	1.53	0.55	0.43	0.45	1.65	**0.77**
20	0	1.35	0	2.29	0	0	0.45	0	**0.02**
30	12.09	20.95	18.03	21.37	19.01	19.1	24.55	23.97	**20.21**
31	5.49	6.76	7.21	3.05	3.84	4.78	8.18	8.26	**5.42**
40	0	2.7	0.98	1.53	0.37	1.01	0	0	**0.83**
45	15.38	8.11	10.82	9.16	8.04	7.53	10.91	4.13	**9.22**
46	0	1.35	0.33	0.76	2.56	1.3	1.82	2.48	**1.84**
47	3.3	2.03	2.62	1.53	2.56	1.74	1.36	3.31	**2.39**
48	0	0.68	0.98	0	0.91	1.16	2.27	0.83	**1.57**
50	7.69	4.73	2.3	3.82	5.85	3.62	2.73	6.61	**4.97**
51	1.1	0	1.64	0.76	0.55	0.29	0.45	0.83	**0.45**
55	23.08	16.89	24.26	21.37	21.39	16.21	17.73	12.4	**18.93**
60	3.3	1.35	2.3	3.05	4.57	2.75	1.82	4.96	**3.34**
61	2.2	4.05	3.28	4.58	2.38	3.76	5.91	1.65	**3.55**
62	14.29	14.19	9.51	11.45	16.82	12.59	11.82	15.7	**14.91**
63	3.3	2.03	2.95	3.05	2.19	1.88	1.36	3.31	**1.87**
64	1.1	2.03	3.93	2.29	1.83	2.17	3.18	3.31	**1.93**
65	2.2	3.38	2.95	2.29	1.83	1.88	1.36	1.65	**1.92**
66	1.1	0.68	0	1.53	0.18	0.58	0	0.83	**0.59**
70	0	0.68	0.66	2.29	0.73	0.87	0.91	1.65	**1.56**
90	0	0	0	0	0	0.43	0	0	**0.14**
95	1.1	2.03	0	0	0.18	0.14	0	0	**0.15**
96	0	0.68	0.66	0	0.18	0.29	0	0	**0.27**
97	0	1.35	2.62	0.76	2.01	1.16	2.73	2.48	**1.65**

Occupation coded by 'organisation'			
10	Land	60	Professional (general)
11	Gardeners	61	Medical Men
20	Quarries	62	Legal
30	Dist. & Processing	63	Religion
31	Dealers	64	Education
40	Transport	65	Misc. Services
45	Financial	66	Printing & Publishing
46	Bankers	70	Construction
47	Agents & Travellers	90	Independent Income
48	Clerks & Bookkeepers	95	National Govt.
50	Manufacturing	96	Local Govt.
51	Employers & managers	97	Defence
55	Craft	99	No Occ. Title

Unfortunately the figures are too small to run any meaningful statistical test on the comparison, but from a visual inspection of this table it can be seen that the distribution of occupational titles in both the sampled Trade Directory and the Pollbook correspond, fairly closely, with the distribution in the complete pollbook.

Therefore it can be seen that it is not necessary to join the Directory to the Pollbook to form a 'base' - the Pollbook is sufficient on its own. One major deficiency with the Pollbook as a source for the the base population is that it includes *no women.* It is therefore impossible to link women to the base. In this study it has been found that Victorian women had a secondary but important role in the public life of the mid-nineteenth century. The influence of women in Edinburgh's civil society will therefore be examined in the free-standing context of the nominal lists they appear in, and not linked to the base.

Moreover, the argument as to why too much time should not be spent on data entry to construct the 'base' is strengthened by the need to enter the subsidiary lists in their complete form. The subsidiary lists form the meat of the study, as in most cases they form the units of analysis. They are the lists we are most interested in so that, once constructed, the base becomes relegated to a reference point to the explanatory potential of the linked lists. Entering them complete also allows these subsidiary lists to be linked to each other (with the base as a reference point). But there is also the practical reason that these lists tend to be very small (ranging between 100 and 1000 entries in length). They are manageable enough to be entered complete, but note also that this smallness actually makes them unsuitable to sample - if we did, the small numbers problem would quickly force us to 100% sampling.

(V) Occupational Coding

Much of the analysis to be presented in this thesis uses occupational categories as a variable of analysis. Although there are certain theoretical problems which have been raised against this approach[30], in the absence of an evaluation of data on wealth and property ownership, it was decided to employ occupational categories as indicators of class groupings.

An occupational title has in itself no one intrinsic meaning. It becomes an explanatory tool only when the titles are grouped and classified. This, the construction of class categories, is at the heart of class analysis. The validity and value of any class study depends upon its coding of occupational titles. It is therefore essential to establish the principles upon which any coding design rests. The purpose of this section is to show that no one unitary coding design is possible nor should be attempted. It is because of the problematic nature of the sources and the fluidity of the stratification system over time that such an aim is untenable. It is therefore proposed that a unitary coding schema would lose too much information in the trade-off for cross-study comparisons. Instead this section will set out the argument for a multidimensional coding design. Presented here is a design which combines flexibility with comparability, but which above all else stays true to the data and the context of the source.

There are several reasons for the superiority of a multidimensional coding design over a unitary model for dealing with nineteenth century data. The first concerns the vagaries of assigned occupational titles in this period. In an effort to grapple with this problem scholars have paid much attention to the coding decisions taken by the census enumerators in this period. The general difficulties involved with coding were summarized by the census authorities in 1851 as follows :

> "If the names are taken by which people designate their own occupations, it is found that they amount to several thousands; that in some instances, the same name is applied to several occupations; that various names are applied to the same occupation in different counties; and that the occupation in town and country, in manufacturing and other districts, are subdivided to a very different extent. Several of the names are vague and of doubtful interpretation."[31]

It can firstly be seen that that the sheer number of occupational titles is a problem. According to Michael Anderson, by 1881 the Census authorities were aware of almost 10,000 different occupational titles, most of which he suggests probably existed in 1851. To provide summary categories to such a large spread of titles is an invitation to

crude generalisations. This is why we should be wary of trying to bridge this spread with a unitary class schema.

Such difficulties are not unique to the the Census returns. Other studies which have examined Trade Directories and Parliamentary Pollbooks, holding their own wealth of classificatory difficulties, have also found a great variety of occupational titles. P. J. Corfield found 2,000 separate occupational titles from 30,000 individual entries in British Trade Directories in the 1770s and 1780s and R. J. Morris examined the Leeds Trade Directory of 1834 and found 2,338 different titles from 9,131 entries.[32] In my analysis of the 1852/4 Edinburgh Pollbook there were 807 different titles from 7,735 entries. This difference between the Leeds figure and that of Edinburgh reflects the different occupational distribution in the two cities. Leeds the manufacturing town had more and varied occupations associated with the textile industry - in contrast to Edinburgh. Secondly this lower figure is indicative in the sources examined, as the Trade Directory examined in the Leeds study includes occupational titles much further down the class scale, where there is a greater number and variation, than the Pollbook where entry was dependent on franchise qualification and is thus open only to a smaller property-owning elite.

The variety of occupational titles in all the sources makes it possible to understand the second problem, namely the difficulties involved in attempting to make a valid and consistent link between an individual's assigned occupational title and a particular economic activity. This was especially apparent if we try to make distinctions between capital and wage. Vincent describes how the failure of the Census authorities in this respect was justified. Dr Ogle on behalf of the Census authorities claimed that despite their attempts to make this distinction :

> " He believed that out of the 26 millions of people in England and Wales, there was not 1000 who had returned themselves as journeyman anything : A man called himself a journeyman, whether he were a journeyman baker, or master baker, and so with other trades : it was impossible to distinguish them"[33]

In fact Vincent suggests that this pattern of self-description implies that the social distance between those above and below the normal run-of-the-mill employee was not important to contemporaries.[34] However, in addition to this lack of accuracy across the board in the self-reporting of occupation, job descriptions varied considerably between local job markets, between regions, and between industries, where an identical activity could be given a different title depending on the particular employer.

The problem of the link between the occupational title and the individual is exacerbated in the relationship between an assigned occupational title and the purpose and aims of the document it appears in. For example in his study of Leeds[35], Morris discovered that on comparing the town's Trade Directory with its Pollbook in 1834 there was a 'match up' of approximately 70%. This meant that only around 70% of titles in one source, belonging to linked individuals, corresponded to the same category in the other source. The important conclusion reached was that the members of the Leeds middle class tended to claim different occupational titles depending on the message they wished to convey; a choice heavily influenced by the nature of the source being created. Similarly, Nossiter remarked that the vote recorded in the pollbook is undoubtedly a reflection of the voter's day-to-day interactions, where "the elector was encouraged to take his total social situation into account and by his vote express the network of influences of which he was a part."[36] It shall become evident during the course of this thesis that occupational titles are social constructs, products of their socio-economic context and their marketability - features which the sources reflect.

Although the thrust of each of these problems I have described is perhaps different, any solution seems to point in the direction of a local context-specific study. In order to cope with the spread of occupational titles and their variable definitions and meanings, the case study approach proposed here is, it is argued, the most effective means whereby additional data can be used to 'fill-in', and to compensate, for the failure of the occupational title to be consistent in its meaning. Such a study would also enable us to deal with occupational titles specific to only certain localities. This course of action is essential before we can obtain a certain degree of confidence to analyse, say, the capital/wage relationship.

Indeed it is perhaps not surprising to note that such coding difficulties are increased in comparisons over time. The central disadvantage in the application of sociologically informed twentieth century class schema to nineteenth century occupational data has always been the changing class position of many occupations in a dynamic stratification system. Well known class 'boundary cases' such as school teachers or clerks have found their status and economic reward fluctuate wildly over the last century or so. The straightforward 'plugging-in' of nineteenth century data on clerks to a twentieth century class schema would be almost meaningless or (perhaps worse) misleading. The placing of clerks in, say, two categories reflecting the dominant split in the occupation in the nineteenth century, is a far cry from the routinisation, feminization

and life-cycle determined choices which inform the categorisation of clerks in recent class schema.[37]

While taking on board the historical specificity of occupational titles, before we can start classifying titles we must acknowledge that in any schema the construction of its orders and sub-orders, be they industrial, production or status related, will immediately be a source of bias. Due to the wide range coding schema in existence there is a danger that, as John Scott argues:

> "The absence of generally accepted procedures for the measurement of meaning has led many researchers to treat coding as if it were a theoretically neutral process in which the sole consideration is the convenience or parsimony of the categories employed."[38]

That different classifications relate to different underlying concepts was recognised by Michael Anderson, and was one of the main reasons which persuaded him to opt for a multidimensional coding design. For instance, the 1861 census was classified in terms of production, with its constituent orders decided in terms of the raw materials used.[39] This is in contrast with the Booth-Armstrong design, the most popular to British historians, which is essentially an industrial schema.[40] These inevitable biases provide us with another reason as to why we should not use just one schema and therefore why the most suitable coding design is one that can be comparable on as many fronts as possible. Each schema provides an alternative slant on the stratification system of the population. Therefore none need be excluded, for each can provide a different insight. In addition each is able to facilitate comparisons with other studies.[41] Such comparisons will be possible in the coding design proposed here because each occupational title will have its own original code to begin with, enabling us with reasonable ease re-assemble the data following the principles and rules of any chosen schema. Thus additional codes will be added as the titles are classified according to the various different schema in use.

Classificatory schema such as Booth-Armstrong or the Standard Industrial Code (S.I.C.) are at their best in the role of comparitors. They are not suitable for the central coding design of a local study, the reason being they miss too much of the richness (or the inconsistencies) of the data due to their particular requirements of standardization across sources and localities. Central to a study such as the present one is a schema that exploits the particularities of the source.

It is necessary that we construct a coding design which reflects the local economy being as it is the context from which the list of occupations is derived. The manufacturing base of Edinburgh was small. This can be seen in the report on the 1841 Census which delineates the few numbers employed in, what was termed,

"The principal manufactures of the County"[42] :
Flax and Linen (employing 355 persons);
Rope and Cord (252);
Silk (dyers included; 285);
Paper (739);
Cotton (printers included; 118);
Glass (195);
Woollen (dyers included; 89);
Earthenware (125);
Stocking (135);
Iron (125);
Hair (243);
Nail (127).

Because these numbers are small, little would be gained from constructing an 'Industrial' code. It is obvious that the details of the economy of Edinburgh will not be unearthed from its industrial orders. If we instead highlight the principal occupations of the the City and County of Edinburgh from the same Census, we get a picture of an economy dominated by commerce, the craft sector, printing and publishing, the financial sector, legal services, and the medical profession. Tables 3.3, and 3.4 in Appendix 2 show the principal occupations. Domestic servant at 35,045 persons employed, dominated the employment structure of the the city, its suburbs and the county. Boot and Shoemaker (5949 persons enumerated); Dress Maker and Milliner (4682); Clerk (3155); Printer (2204); Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer (2407); Writers, Attorney, Solicitor and Lawyer (1971); Grocer & Tea Dealer (1652); Schoolmaster, Teacher and Assistant (1395); Surgeon, Apothecary & Medical student (1239) Merchant (886) Coach maker (714) Jeweller, Goldsmith and Silversmith (654) are all in the top forty of enumerated occupations.[43]

Table 3.5 (Appendix 3) shows the numbers employed (males only) in the 3 Orders which comprise the Registrar General's 'Professional Class' for 1861.[44] Again there

is the dominance of the legal (1705 persons in all grouped related occupations), medical (1297) and teaching professions (746). The strength of the numbers involved in financial services comes through the Registrar General's Order VI showing, for individual occupational titles : Merchant (466 employed); Banker (154); Insurance Benefit Society Officer (186); Commercial Clerk (1200); Commercial traveller (313). While in 'Order X', 426 Booksellers and Publishers were enumerated, 511 Bookbinders and 1796 Printers.[45]

R. Q. Gray has pointed out that the middle class of Edinburgh were not directly involved in production, but were rather engaged in the professions, wholesale and retail distribution, commerce and finance[46] The figures presented from the 1841 and 1861 Censuses support this assertion. Moreover, the largest categories of occupations coded in the Pollbook were Distribution and Processing (20.21% of those assigned an occupational title in the source); Craft (18.93 %); Legal (14.91%); Commerce (9.22%); Dealers (5.42%); and Manufacturing (4.97%).

This project is a study of the middle class in nineteenth century Edinburgh. Rather than use an inappropriate 'industrial' code, from the above examination of the Census returns and of the Pollbook, it was decided to construct two sets of codes that would dissect the particular middle class occupational structure of Edinburgh. An 'organisation' code was constructed around an interpretation of the nature of the work done implied by the occupational title; and a 'production' code was constructed which ranked occupational titles by the nature of the industry, irrespective of the work done.[47] In Appendix 4 the 'code book', detailing which occupations were assigned to which class categories, is reproduced.

Thus to reflect the dominant gradations of Edinburgh's occupational structure required a different coding design from a comparable study of the middle class in nineteenth century Glasgow, where the constructed coding design reflected the merchant/manufacturer base of that city.[48] Both studies use unique context-derived occupational codes which play to the strengths of the source, reflect its local socio-economic structure, and address the questions applicable to that locality.[49] But each title is individually 'tagged' in its original unclassified format, allowing each title to be re-allocated according to whichever schema we wish to test. Therefore each study is still comparable, if need be, at the level of the other. It is this combination of a case-study, context-driven approach with an emphasis on the needs of compatibility which it is suggested is the most effective compromise applicable for fruitful research. It is

beyond the research aims of this thesis to undertake a comparative occupational analysis of mid-century Edinburgh, but the data has been coded in such a way as to make this possible if desired at a later date. But the point remains that each case-study must have its own vagaries accounted for in occupational analysis. A useful maxim which prods us in the direction of our preferred solution is provided by Frank O' Gorman[50]: 'Follow the line from contemporaries and be consistent!'

(VI) Towards an Empirical Framework of Edinburgh's Civil Society

The next preliminary point to be discussed before the presentation of the main findings of this thesis is the establishment of an empirical definition of civil society. The theoretical conception of civil society used in this study was outlined in chapters one to three. There it was argued that when examined in nineteenth century terms, the local state possessed such a degree of autonomy, and was such a loose confederation, that we are forced to conceptualise Edinburgh civil society in this period as a strong, self-sustaining entity which embodied formal and informal institutions of self administration. The question then is how do we empirically operationalize such a definition?

In many cities and large towns in this period there was published both an Almanac and a Post Office Directory which together acted as sources of the majority of all day-to-day facts and knowledge. The Almanac originally included mainly religious and astronomical data but was subsequently extended to include statistics and information on areas such as the weather, political events, sporting and social events, carriage and postage rates, and anniversaries of the coming year.[51] The Almanac was an attempt at a reference to everything happening in a locality in one year which was deemed to be important and/or relevant. If we examine the structure of Oliver and Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac we are presented with what amounts to contemporaries' interpretation of British, Scottish and Edinburgh's civil society - all in just over 1000 pages. The Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory, meanwhile, picked up more on the commercial, manufacturing and professional life of the city.

Oliver and Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac (the chosen year in this instance is 1856) functions as the most systematic and detailed guide to the institutions, organizations and associations which existed in Edinburgh in our period. The Almanac includes such information as the office bearers and addresses of what we can assume is virtually the complete institutional structure of Edinburgh. The Almanac was divided up into five parts. The first part contains 'The Kalander, and information contained therewith'; the

second presents 'Information in Commerce, Agriculture, Law, Chronology, and Statistics'; the third is entitled 'The British Empire'; the fourth 'Scotland'; and the fifth 'City and County of Edinburghshire'. It is especially valuable for our purposes to examine how the compilers of the Almanac chose to divide up and present information on Edinburgh's civil society. They delineated seven sections for data on the City of Edinburgh :

(1) 'Municipal Establishments';
(2) 'Religious Institutions';
(3) 'Educational Establishments';
(4) 'Scientific and Literary Institutions';
(5) 'Benevolent and Charitable Institutions';
(6) 'Commercial Establishments';
(7) 'Miscellaneous Lists'.

In addition to those seven sections, they presented (only) one list of occupations : 'Official Lists for 1856 of the Certified Writers to the Signet, Solicitors, Agents, Attorneys, Procurators, Notaries - Public, Clerks, etc.' The Almanac was a commercial venture as well as a source of public information; it is therefore indicative of the importance of the law fraternity to Edinburgh's public life that they be singled out in the contents of the Almanac and be made a selling point. But this is not to overlook that the great value of the Almanac for our purposes is its listing and categorisation of the institutions, organisations and associations of mid-nineteenth century Edinburgh.

As its name suggests the Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory (1854-1855) is a guide to the (especially middle class) residents of Edinburgh : it recorded where they lived and what they did. There were nine main subsections in the Directory and the breakdown was as follows :

(1) Bank Directory;
(2) Church Directory;
(3) Conveyance Directory;
(4) County Directory;
(5) Insurance Directory;
(6) Law Directory;
(7) Parliamentary Directory;

(8) Professions and Trade Directory;
(9) Street Directory.

In addition there were various lists detailing the holders of public positions such as the Parochial Board or the Magistrate and Council, certain occupations such as accountants, writers, and Writers to the Signet, as well as information on the military, taxes, rates, steamers, stage coaches, newspapers and the postage intricacies of the time, amongst others.

By comparing and contrasting the Almanac with the Post Office Directory, we effectively cover the range of the formal and informal institutional structures of Edinburgh's civil society. These two sources act as the reference point from which the choice of which organizations and associations are to be examined is made from.

However to complete our picture of Edinburgh's civil society, it is necessary that we gather information on the various annual and *ad hoc* subscription lists raised mid-century, but which are not included in the Almanac because they are not 'fixed' or annual events. For instance the prestigious annual subscription list for contributions to the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary or the on/off subscriptions raised for the completion of the Scott Monument, fail to be picked up in either the Almanac or the Directory. Such particulars, and the range of subscriptions raised, are mined from a mixture of The Scotsman, the guides/histories of Edinburgh, and the biographies of prominent Edinburgh citizens.

Once we have identified to our satisfaction the range of institutions and activities representative of Edinburgh's civil society, the next step is to select and prioritize which data are to be analysed and which can justifiably be ignored. Our selection procedure is twofold. Firstly and most straightforwardly, our choice is conditioned by the questions being addressed in the research design. In our case the emphasis made on the choice of data is towards statements of social role and of national identity.

The second dimension of our selection procedure is to identify the dominant centres of influence and the most important dimensions of Edinburgh's civil society. It will be realised that a fully comprehensive analysis of the constituent parts of Edinburgh's civil society is impossible. By singling out the organisations with the 'big names' as patrons or committee members, or the biggest and/or most exclusive subscriptions, or the institutions, organisations, or associations which command the most column inches

in The Scotsman, we are able to identify the dominant structures of Edinburgh's civil society.

(VII) Representativeness of Sources

Finally, one further consideration must be given to the nature of the sources examined. There is the problem of source survival. As social scientists our hands are tied by the sources that are archived. The discussion is therefore inevitably skewed, pulled by the sources to certain areas and to certain questions. A study such as this on national identity is at particular risk. Identity is such an ephemeral concept with few recognised and measurable criteria, despite some rather tortured attempts to systematize 'ideal types'.[52] Thus researchers must accept that the nature of the evidence employed is especially influenced by what is available and what we think is important. The dangers are manifold. As suggested earlier with regards to record linkage by a number of variables, there is nearly always the bias toward 'high status' records. If an important individual is involved then that record stands a greater chance of being archived. Similarly, records produced by more 'literary' societies or by more bureaucratic organisations are likely to be better preserved or more widely published, so achieving a greater chance of survival. What is preserved and archived often depends on either the ego or conscientiousness of an individual active in an organisation or of their surviving relatives.

There is also the matter of why the source was created in the first place. We require this knowledge if we wish to do justice to the intended meaning of a particular source. Our evaluation of why the source was created is also consistent with the standardisation in the description and documentation requirements in historical social research with computers. Hans-Jørgen Marker and his colleagues set out a structure of data documentation to facilitate secondary research.[53] They propose that for the purposes of evaluating the source, we require to know :

(1) the purpose of the source, to establish why it was created.
(2) the scope of the source, to whom was the source applicable.
(3) the content of the source, what was to be recorded.
(4) the time dimension : when was the information in the source recorded.

This framework for standardised comparisons is another angle indicating why we must understand fully the nature of the source. It is another reason for the importance attached to the social situation behind the source and the social situation behind an

individual's appearance in that source. Only with such information will it be possible to make local, context-specific studies comparable. Only with such information will it be possible to examine the presentation of status through the linkage of various records. Only then can we re-create Edinburgh's civil society in the mid-nineteenth century - the subject of the next three chapters.

[1] Hence this source is referred to as the 1852/4 Pollbook. Of course the electoral results within it are for the 1852 general election only, but those added to the electoral roll between 1852 and 1854 are listed in this revised pollbook.

[2] See Chapter Two, note 66.

[3] See Elliott, Brian & McCrone, David (1982) The City : Patterns of Domination and Conflict, MacMillan, London.

[4] On the continued influence of the Dukes of Buccleuch and Roxburghe on the towns in the Scottish Borders, see : Morris, Angela (1989) "Patrimony and Power : A Study of Lairds and Landownership in the Scottish Borders", PhD, University of Edinburgh.

[5] Max Weber (1948) "Class, Status and Party", in Gerth and Mills (eds.) From Max Weber, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London : 187.

[6] Turner, Bryan S. (1988) Status, Open University Press, Milton Keynes : 6.

[7] Goldthorpe, J. H. and Hope, Keith (1974) The Social Grading of Occupations : a new approach, Clarenden Press, Oxford : 5.

[8] Goldthorpe & Hope (1974).

[9] Goffman, Erving (1959) The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life, Penguin, Middlesex.

[10] See Stana Nenadic (1990) "Political Reform and the 'Ordering' of Middle Class Protest", in Devine, Tom (ed) Conflict and Stability in Scottish Society, John Donald, Edinburgh.

[11] Speck, W. A. and Gray, W. A. (1970) "Computer Analysis of Pollbooks : An Initial Report", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 43; and Speck, W. A., Gray, W. A. and Hopkinson, R. (1975) "Computer Analysis of Pollbooks : A Further Report", ibid, 48.

[12] Morris, R. J. (1990c) "Petitions, Meetings and Class Formation amongst the Urban Middle Classes in Britain in the 1830s", Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 103; J.A. Phillips (1982) Electoral Behaviour in Unreformed England : Plumpers, Splitters, and Straights, Princeton. S.W. Baskerville (1989)"'Preferred' Linkage and the Analysis of Voter Behaviour in 18th Century England", History and Computing, vol. 1, no. 2, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

[13] Speck & Gray (1970); Speck, Gray & Hopkinson (1975)

[14] Skolnick, Mark (1973) "The resolution of ambiguities in record linkage", in Wrigley, E.A. (ed.) Identifying People in the Past, Edward Arnold, London. A straightforward approach to hierarchical linking is demonstrated in Nenadic (1986) where a three level hierarchy was employed: If a match was made on name, occupation, and address, then it was deemed a positive link; it a match was made on name and either occupation or address, then it too was accepted as a positive link; if a match was only made on name then it was treated as a negative link, unless other sources or historical judgement suggested otherwise. Nenadic, Stana (1986) 'The Structures, Values and Influence of the Scottish Urban Middle Class : Glasgow 1800-1870', PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow; Nenadic, Stana (1987) "Record Linkage and the Exploration of Nineteenth Century Social Groups : A Methodological Perspective on the Glasgow Middle Class in 1861", Urban History Yearbook, Leicester University Press, Leicester.

[15] Adman, Peter, Stephan W. Baskerville and Katherine F. Beedham (1992) "Computer-*Assisted* Record Linkages : or How Best to Optimize Links Without Generating Errors", History and Computing, Vol. 4, No. 1, Oxford University Press , Oxford.

[16] Winchester, Ian (1973) 'On referring to ordinary historical persons', in Wrigley (ed.). He explained that because of the data, when we treat links with 'certainty' we are referring to a practical possibility, not a logical possibility.

[17] Scott, John (1990) A Matter of Record : Documentary Sources in Social Research, Polity Press, Cambridge : 109.

[18] Scott (1990) : 110.

[19] Morris, R. J. (1989) "Data Source to Data Base : Politics, the History of the British Bourgeoisie and Computer Assisted Research", Paper presented to the Conference on History and Computing, Amsterdam, June 23-24.

[20] These criteria follow R.J. Morris (1989) .

[21] List of Voters in the City of Edinburgh who Voted for Mr Charles Cowan, M.P. (1847), n.p., Edinburgh [EPL]. List of the Electors of the City of Edinburgh, arranged according to their residence, Corrected after Appeal Court 1854, showing the voting at the general election, July 1852 (1854) Edinburgh.

[22] When R.J. Morris (1989) linked the 1832 & 1834 Leeds Pollbooks together and then linked the result to the 1834 Leeds Trade Directory he achieved 45.9% linkage on unique names.

[23] Registrar General's Report on Nomenclature (1864) Edinburgh : lv.

[24] Ibid : lvi.

[25] Of courses this is not a random sample, but is more like a 'quota' sample with all the disadvantages that has over the former for statistical analysis. It fulfils a 'quota' in the sense that all in the pollbook are individuals owning a property qualification allowing them to vote; we are therefore guaranteed that our sample is of a certain socio-economic status; where the 'random' element comes in is in the *type* of property held. Thus the bias we create is towards property ownership (which, in fact, is the point in a study of the middle class, where we wish to exclude the working class from our sample). Thereafter the particular type of property held is not determined by the sampling procedure, it is 'random', as is, e.g., vote and occupation, etc., which are attached to the type of property.

26 Koditschek, Theodore (1990) Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society, Bradford 1750-1850, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; See my criticisms of Kotitschek's linkage decisions in Business History, October, 1991. Note also that the use of the enumerator's books is in fact only possible within the context of the limited time available if, as Koditschek has done, other potentially valuable sources are not linked.

[27] Nenadic, Stana (1986).

[28] The best example of the use of complete (100 %) sources to construct the base comes from Morris, R. J. (1990b) Class, Sect and Party : The Making of the British Middle Class : Leeds 1830-1850. Morris linked the pollbooks from 1832 and 1834 to the Trade Directory of 1834. This produced 18, 364 entries. Although this is theoretically the most correct procedure, it is pertinent to note that this is the only study of the three quoted here which is not derived directly from a recent doctoral thesis.

[29] For a fuller discussion of this study see : Nenadic (1987). This methodology is based on : Phillips, J. A. (1979) "Achieving a critical mass while avoiding an explosion : Letter cluster sampling and nominal record linkage", Journal of Interdisciplinary History, ix, 3.

[30] Neale, R. S. (1981) Class in English History, 1680-1850, Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

31 Quoted in Anderson, M. "National Sample from the 1851 Census of Great Britain. Discussion Paper 1 : Classification of Occupational Titles", March 1974, unpublished : 6.

[32] Corfield, P. J. (1987) "Computerizing Urban Occupations", in Peter Denley & Deian Hopkins (eds) History and Computing, vol. 1., M.U.P., Manchester. Morris, R. J. (1990a) 'Occupational Coding : Principles and Examples', Historical Social Research, vol. 15, no. 1.

[33] Quoted in Charles Booth (1886), "Occupations in the U.K.1801-1881", Journal of the Royal Statistical Society (June) : 438; This point is made and the quote reproduced in Vincent, J. R. (1968) Pollbooks : How Victorians Voted C. U. P. , Cambridge, who significantly notes that this same problem is reproduced in the pollbooks.

[34] Vincent (1968).

35 Morris, R. J. (1990b).

[36] Nossiter, T.J. (1975) Influence, Opinion and Political Idioms in Reformed England : Case Studies from the North East, 1832-1874, Harvester Press, Sussex : 6.

[37] See D. Lockwood's Blackcoated Worker, Charles Dickens in Household Words, Marshall, G. et al (1988) Social Class in Modern Britain, Macmillan, London.

[38] Scott (1990) : 9.

[39] Although note the difficulties caused by the tendency in the nineteenth century to combine those in production of a commodity with those in its distribution.

[40]This point is made by Morris, R. J. (1990a) .

[41]The decision of Anderson was to classify and link to the 1881 Census (a 'production' code), to the SIC of 1968 and the Booth-Armstrong schema (both 'industrial' codes), and to Classification of Occupations 1970, which takes account of status.

[42] PP (1844) XXVII : 27.

[43] PP (1844) XXVII : 22-26; full details of all occupations employing over 50 are given in table 3.5, Appendix B.

[44] PP (1864) LI : 265-272.

[45] Again note the figures are for males only.

[46] Gray, R. Q. (1974) The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, Clarendon Press, Edinburgh : 21.

[47] The framework of this split follows Morris, R.J. (1990b), although many of the classificatory decisions are unique to Edinburgh's economy.

[48] Nenadic (1986).

[49] Although note that Morgan and Trainor found substantial minorities of all the middle class strata in Scottish towns of middling size upwards, R. Trainor and N. Morgan (1990) 'The Dominant Classes' in Fraser, W. H. and Morris. R. J. (eds.) People and Society in Scotland, vol. 2, John Donald, Edinburgh.

[50] O' Gorman, Frank (1989) 'Electoral Behaviour in England, 1700-1872', in Denley, Peter, Fogelvik, Stefan and Harvey, Charles (eds) History and Computing II, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

[51] Scott (1990) : 156.

[52] Smith, A. D. (1983) Theories of Nationalism, (2nd edition) Duckworth, London; Breuilly, John (1982) Nationalism and the State, Manchester University Press, Manchester; Best of all, however, is Kellas, James G. (1991) The Politics of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Macmillan, London.

[53] Marker, Hans-Jørgen , Reinke, Herbert and Schürer, Kevin (1988), 'Sources and Data : description and documentation requirements in historical social research', in, Genet, Jean-Phillippe (ed.) Standardization ét echange des bases de donées historique, Centre Nationale de la Recherche, Scientifique, Paris.

Chapter Five
Voting : The Political Profile of Edinburgh

Introduction

In this chapter, and the two which follow, the 'public life' of Edinburgh bourgeoisie will be examined. The purpose is to attempt to understand how this group operated as a class within Edinburgh's civil society in the mid-nineteenth century. The analysis in this chapter is on the Parliamentary political process, focusing on the 1852 general election. By dissecting how the Edinburgh bourgeoisie voted, we will then in a position to understand the dominant issues and occupational groups within Edinburgh at this time. Each general election was a link between the Edinburgh bourgeoisie and Parliament. Therefore, the 1852 general election is our first step to explaining the state/civil society axis and hence how the middle class governed their society. The electoral choice tells us a great deal about the issues concerning the Edinburgh bourgeoisie, and about their own class composition : by their vote shall we know them.

(I) The Political Background

The 1832 Reform Act was the event which brought the bourgeoisie into the legislative process. Pre-1832 in Scotland, 1 in 125 adult males had the vote (1 in 8 in England and Wales). After Reform, for Scotland the figure was 1 in 8 (1 in 5 in England and Wales).[1] The new franchise qualifications created a new privileged class; it admitted many of the small shopkeepers, but excluding most of the skilled craftsmen from the vote.[2] The impact of the reforms hit Tory fortunes in Scotland, especially in the burghs. This was an expected reaction to the Scottish Tories' 'monolithic opposition to the Reform Bill' which alienated the new electorate. The Tories especially suffered from the significance of the changes in Scotland. The newly increased electorate in Scotland - up 1400% compared to an increase of 80% in England and Wales - was heavily behind the Whigs as leaders of the Reform campaign. As one of Peel's Scottish advisers put it : "In short, in Scotland, the Reform Bill has produced a more permanent change that anywhere else, amounting to a complete revolution in the Government."[3]

In the burghs there was a new degree of openness in governmental structures. Michael Fry points out that in Scotland 'the burgh elites seem to look a lot more

democratic than in England, consisting of lawyers, ministers, bankers and newspaper editors, though in the minor districts with admixtures of lairds from the surrounding county'. However, in practice, he continues, 'the system was just as socially exclusive as England's except the exclusion started operating at a lower level.'[4] The lingering power of the landlords on burgh politics post-1832 has been demonstrated by Angela Morris for the Scottish Borders. Morris has shown that craft control of burgh politics, which increased throughout the eighteenth century, came to an end in the burgh reforms of 1833 to be replaced by laird control. This Act had the explicit aim of bringing to an end the system of direct representation of trade guilds on the town council. For example, in Selkirk, prior to 1833, 108 members of trade guilds had been able to vote - the hammermen having 42 votes, the cordiners 18, the weavers 19, the tailors 21 and the fleshers 8. Under the new system of a £10 property qualification, the Selkirk town council calculated that only 20 out of this 108 would qualify to vote.[5] As these traders lost their local entitlement to vote so too did they lose their Parliamentary vote, as it also became subject to the £10 property qualification. The result in the Borders was a strengthening of the control of the Duke of Buccleuch which lasted until local government reorganisation in 1974.[6] More generally, the point is made that the Reforms of 1832 and 1833 did not fully open up Scottish politics; the Lairds and the haute bourgeoisie maintained much influence.

At the other end of the spectrum, despite the Reform Bills of 1832, 1868 and 1885, by 1911 only 62.5% of Scottish county males had the vote, while in England the figure was 69.9%; in the burghs the figures were respectively 57.3% and 59.8%.[7] Of those lacking the franchise, nearly 40% of the adult male population, when they voiced their demands for the vote throughout our period, did *not* do so in relation to their own Scottish parliament. This can be demonstrated from the six points of the Charter, as it was adopted in Scotland, where no mention was made of self-government. Moreover, when the Chartist movement began to break up mid-century, some Chartist leaders went into local politics, but none re-appeared in, for instance, the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, formed in 1853. Admittedly the reason for this was probably that the Association was led by noblemen and Conservatives[8], but the point is that they did not join what was certainly the most important organisation of the time to resist Anglicization, nor was there an equivalent Scottish 'working class' version of it, such as the Young Ireland League.

To extend this argument, if we actually pin down the most distinctive and lasting effect

of what amounted to four years of Scottish Chartist activity (1838-1842), we come to its moralism and its religious idiom. By 1841 there were around twenty Christian Chartist Churches together with various itinerant Chartist preachers.[9] According to a contemporary quoted by Alexander Wilson, "a Chartist place of worship is now to be found on the Lord's Day in almost every town of note from Aberdeen to Ayr."[10] The importance of religion to Chartism in Scotland is, to a certain degree, in contrast to England; it fits in with the stress on temperance and moral not physical force in Scotland. Religion was certainly all important, and its role is explained neatly by Wilson :

> "The Chartist movement was a manifestation of the deeply religious spirit which deeply pervaded the Scottish Chartist agitation, and throughout the latter years of the movement provided it with with a backbone whose strength remained considerable during the periods in which Chartism was almost at a complete ebb in England."[11]

The further politicisation of the religious theme, after the decline of Chartism, is regarded as important by Michael Fry. He argues that the "religious and ethical intensity of Scottish radicalism, readily given a patriotic imprint, made it almost a national movement. Yet it remained politically impotent."[12]

Fry suggests that independent policy-making for Scotland became almost impossible after the Disruption in 1843 (because of the loss of the Kirk's legitimacy as the single voice of Scotland); and secondly he suggests that : "When Scots thought about public affairs they did so in the context of the U.K. Elections were decided in that context or else on local issues, and rarely on those of a national Scottish character."[13]

However, Fry is wrongly downplaying the wider effect of the Disruption for questioning Scotland's relationship to the British state, and the impetus it gave to religious adherence in nineteenth Scotland. Indeed, with regard to his second charge, the example of Chartism showed that electoral issues *were* played on a national Scottish level; but rather what did not occur were political issues of an explicitly Scottish national character.

What this section has tried to show is how unhelpful a narrow conception of politics is to understanding Scottish national identity. There is elite dominance of local and

Parliamentary politics, but it is because of their *local* power that there is no need, for them, for Parliamentary self-government; those without the franchise wanted the vote, but they did not at this stage want the vote in their own Scottish government. The central state is not the arena to look for Scottish nationalism, because we just will not find it. We have to look at civil society.

(II) The Governing of Civil Society

As the introduction to this chapter made clear, it is the first of a three-pronged investigation into the governing of Edinburgh's civil society in the mid-nineteenth century (in conjunction with chapters six and seven). Section (I) of this chapter has outlined the political background in Scotland during this period. The point to be taken is that for urban society the Acts of 1832 and 1833 gave parliamentary and political power to the middle class. It was a power that was in many ways still subservient to the landed interests, but this restraint diminished as the century progressed. What these two Acts effected, and the subsequent legislation - outlined in chapter two - which followed, was that the middle class consolidated its position as urban powerbrokers. The was manifest in three distinct forms. The first was that the middle class dominated the political process in the towns; the second was that this class instigated a range of voluntary societies to administer civil society; the third, that an elite emerged from the middle class to dominate the governing of society. Using Edinburgh as a case study, this chapter and the next two will in turn analyse each of these processes.

(III) Edinburgh's Enfranchised Elite : mid-century voting

Elections before 1872 - and the introduction of the secret ballot - are especially interesting to social scientists if a pollbook was compiled and published. A pollbook is a better source for the analyst than a modern-day 'Exit Poll'; it is more than how the voters claims to have voted in their booth. All voters were asked their choice and all voters were identified by name, address, and frequently occupation too, amongst other information. A psephological analysis of the pollbook published for Edinburgh following the 1852 general election survives and informs us on two important areas. Firstly, it makes it possible to uncover the voting preferences of the various occupational groupings enfranchised in Edinburgh. Secondly, it provides the data to delineate how a middle class elite was able to impose its political and sectarian will on the electoral process.

The political history of reformed Scotland has been extensively covered by Hutchison.[14] By mid-century Scotland's politics, and Edinburgh's in particular, had become dominated by religious issues stemming from the Disruption and the decade of dispute which led up to it. The central focus of the post-1843 sectarian divide was education. Attempts by the Free Church of Scotland to establish itself as an alternative Established church were a serious threat to the hegemony which the Church of Scotland had enjoyed since it had been appointed the state's church. Both however were under threat from the Voluntaries' attempts to discredit the idea of Establishment.

A central demand from the Voluntaries was the opening out of religious instruction in the schools to encompass a number of Protestant doctrines. By the 1850s, therefore, when there was a period of relative calm in English politics, in Scotland trouble was brewing for the Established Church. The point is that, as Hutchison states, "if the state church in Scotland were placed in jeopardy, the survival of its English counterpart might become equally uncertain."[15]

A second new and distinctive feature of the political process at this time was the rise of a Free Church voting bloc. This group of Free Churchmen voted first of all on Free Church issues and then, secondly, voted against politicians and parties deemed responsible for either permitting the Disruption to occur or for being hostile against the Church's interests - landowners who refused sites for the building of churches were particularly prominent in the latter category. For this voting bloc Whig or Tory did not matter; sectarian concerns were paramount.[16]

By 1846 an alliance had been formed between the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches which had important repercussions for the Whig party managers in Scotland. The Whigs had enjoyed unrivalled success since 1832. That they were in trouble was first apparent in the 1846 by-election in Edinburgh when the prominent Whig, T. B. Macaulay, sought re-election following his promotion to the post of Paymaster General in Russell's cabinet. Expecting to be returned unopposed, as was the norm with Ministerial by-elections in Scotland, Macaulay faced instead the challenge of the leading English Dissenter Sir Culling Eardley Smith.[17] Smith was leader of the Evangelical Alliance, a strongly anti-Catholic body formed in 1845. The Voluntaries actively supported the Evangelical Alliance, as did many Free Churchmen

after its endorsement by Thomas Chalmers. Smith was set up in opposition to Macaulay by a band of activists intent on extolling an anti-Papist stance. Cockburn was most swingeing in his assessment of their fairmindedness :

> "Folly was the only bond that united Sir Culling's supporters ... His committee contained Established Churchman and wild Voluntaries, intense Tories and declamatory Radicals, who agreed in nothing except in holding their peculiar religion the scriptural, and therefore the only safe criterion of fitness for public duty."[18]

Macaulay's difficulties lay in his advocacy for the continued annual state endowment of the Roman Catholic seminary school in Ireland, Maynooth. This support came back to haunt Macaulay and the Whigs. Although Macaulay won the by-election[19] this was only so, it has been claimed, because of his superior party machinery, his fame, and emotional bribery by Fox Maule (Lord Panmure).[20] Fox Maule stood on the hustings with Macaulay to argue that the only signal Edinburgh could send back to the country was of Whig support, otherwise the minority Whig administration would fall. At this election, then, Macaulay had done well to resist the strong and sometimes vehement Protestant hostility in Scotland to the Maynooth grant.

Macaulay's win was short lived - by the next year when the general election was called, he was out. The Free-Voluntary Alliance brought forward Charles Cowan as their candidate. Cowan, the son of an eminent Penicuik papermaker, was a Free Churchman who had been active in his support of the Evangelical Alliance. At the hustings Cowan's supporters were instructed to vote tactically with their second vote. It was not against the Whig Gibson-Craig that the Free-Voluntary ire was raised, but rather their aim was to remove the Maynooth-supporting Macaulay.[21] As Cockburn clearly stated :

> "The conduct of those of the Liberal party who voted against him cannot be explained on any rational principle, because he had done no act, and he held no opinion, different from those of his former colleague William Gibson-Craig, whom they re-elected. Personally he was not popular, and a majority of the Free Churchmen made a run at him, because he was less bigoted than they liked against the Catholics."[22]

However Cockburn believed the sectarian issue was not enough to explain Macaulay's loss. He laid much of the blame on the Tory voters who "... eager to hurt Government by rejecting one of its ornaments, and a member of the cabinet, gave their second votes to Cowan, an avowed Voluntary and very nearly a Radical."[23]

Cockburn was of course wrong in his labelling of Cowan's religious beliefs. As we shall see, Cowan's commitment to the Free Church was a central factor in the outcome of the next general election in 1852. However, Cockburn was certainly correct, in part, to single out the Conservative support for Cowan. This perceived split in the Tory vote was not only used as an explanation to the 1847 result, it was also central to Lord Provost McLaren's arguments to account for his own defeat by Cowan in 1852. Although it is pertinent to note the point made by Jeffrey Williams, that because the Tories lost so much support after the Reform Act, they only put up candidates in Edinburgh where they stood a chance of picking up split votes from the Liberals and the Whigs. Thus out of four general elections and five by-elections between 1835 and 1852, the only two occasions when the Tories put up a candidate in Edinburgh were in 1847 and 1852.[24] This warns us that the Tory voting bloc was not central to the outcome of the Edinburgh elections mid-century. Rather, it was the divisions which appeared in the broad umbrella of Liberalism which were important. In 1852 religion was again top of the agenda.

The spectre of sectarianism remained rife when the 1852 general election was called. Grants were still being made to Maynooth and the Free-Voluntary Alliance continued to be vocal in its attacks on the 'Papist menace'. However cracks now began to appear in the Alliance in Edinburgh, whereas they did not appear elsewhere in Scotland. With the successful election of Cowan on the Free Church-Voluntary ticket, the Alliance wanted to double that success by sponsoring Edinburgh's second M.P. Since Cowan represented the Free Church side of the Alliance, it was proposed, quite understandably, that a Voluntary candidate should next be brought forward. The Voluntaries chose Duncan McLaren, their leader since the 1830s and the man behind Cowan's 1847 victory. McLaren had been successfully elected the previous year as Edinburgh's Lord Provost in a local election markedly split in three between Conservative/Established, Whig/Free and Radical Dissent.[25] However McLaren was unpopular, with many enemies, and therefore without the broad appeal to survive an election contest determined by the casting of two votes. McLaren was a man whom, Hutchison claims, was the greatest exponent of cant, and, in a quote he uses from the Free Church's Witness newspaper, a man who "had been the most vigorous antagonist of the Non-Intrusionist rising of the State Church in the 1830s..."[26] It was an election, Cockburn remarked, notable for the prevalence and intensity of bigotry.[27] The unacceptability of McLaren was enough to shake the Alliance seriously, causing a number of Free Churchmen to leave and instead propose a second Free Church

candidate, Alexander Campbell of Monzie. The Alliance then collapsed completely. It was within this Liberal disarray that the Whigs determined to re-launch the political career of one Thomas Babington Macaulay.

The full result of the Edinburgh City constituency at the 1852 general election was as follows :

Table 5.1

1852 General Election - Edinburgh City Result[28]

Macaulay (Liberal) 1872
Cowan (Liberal) 1754
McLaren (Liberal) 1559
Bruce (Conservative) 1066
Campbell (Liberal-Conservative) 626

T. B. Macaulay and Charles Cowan were duly returned as Edinburgh's two M. P.s for the coming Parliament.

Hutchison's (1986) psephological analysis of the 1852 electoral return for Edinburgh rests primarily on Anon's (1866) relating of contemporary newspaper accounts of the pollbook produced from that contest. Both confine their analysis to the impact of split voting on the fortunes of the five candidates. Presently, I shall follow their approach and present an analysis of the split voting at this election. However I will then highlight some methodological and philosophical difficulties with their conceptualisation of the split vote. To obtain a fuller electoral study, I will demonstrate the need for analysis of 'pairs' of candidates and, ultimately, the value of an occupational breakdown of the electoral returns.

(IV) An Analysis of the 1852 General Election : voting pairs

As was stated in chapter four, for the purposes of this study it was deemed necessary to turn the Edinburgh pollbook produced from this election into machine readable form.[29] The rationale was to construct a 'base' population to which other nominal record linkages could be made. A major by-product of the investment of time, money and effort into translating the pollbook in this way, is that we were then able to export the data into a statistical package to analyse the Edinburgh result in greater depth than had previously been attempted. The data from the pollbook were coded numerically and then read into a recently developed Macintosh version of the long established

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.). Simple crosstabulations were produced. Predominantly these crosstabulations were enacted between vote(s) and occupational categories - grouped within the 'organisation' or 'production' codes as detailed in chapter four. Moreover, by running a crosstabulation between first and second vote (Table 5.2) we can arrive at the broad characteristics of the voting at this election. This crosstabulation allows us first of all to calculate the number of plumpers for each candidate (such voters who did not cast a second vote); and, secondly, it will identify the choice of those who did cast a second vote.

Table 5.2

1852 General Election : First Vote By Second Vote.[30]

Votes(N) / Row % / Col. %		Vote 2						
		Macaulay	Cowan	McLaren	Bruce	Campbell	No Vote	Row (N) Total (%)
Vote 1	Macaulay		3 0.9 0.8	1 0.3 0.4	2 0.6 50	25 7.6 5.1	296 90.5 5.6	327 4.2
	Cowan	462 38.8 35.5		201 16.9 86.3	1 0.1 25	408 34.3 82.4	119 10 2.2	1191 15.4
	McLaren	689 61.2 53	2 0.2 0.5		1 0.1 25	44 3.9 8.9	393 34.6 7.3	1127 14.6
	Bruce	150 15.9 11.5	366 38.7 98.7	31 3.3 13.3		18 1.9 3.6	381 40.3 7.1	946 12.2
	Campbell						6 100 0.1	6 0.1
	No Vote						4138 100 77.6	4138 53.5
	Col. (N)	1302	371	233	4	495	5330	7735
	Total (%)	16.8	4.8	3	0.1	6.4	68.9	100

It can be noted that 90.5% of those who gave their first vote to Macaulay plumped. Macaulay's supporters therefore were very sure of their man and did not want to use their second vote to benefit anyone else. This compares with Cowan, of whose

supporters only 10% plumped; for McLaren the figure was 34.6%, for Bruce 40.4%, and for Campbell 100%. (That is, all Campbell's six first voters plumped for him!). If we examine the state of the poll after the first vote and then compare it with their total from second vote, then the state of the candidates was as follows :

Table 5.3

1852 General Election : Distribution of First & Second Votes.

[Figures derived from the Pollbook][31]

First Vote	Second Vote
Cowan 1191 votes	Macaulay 1302
McLaren 1127	Cowan 371
Bruce 946	McLaren 233
Macaulay 327	Campbell 495
Campbell 6	Bruce 4

The obvious point to be made on comparing first and second votes is how few first votes Macaulay received and how many second votes he received. If only first votes had counted Macaulay would have been well beaten into fourth place. So although 90.5% of Macaulay's first voters plumped this did not greatly help him to win. He won because he received the second votes of those who gave their first vote to the other main candidates : 15.9% of those who gave Bruce their first vote gave their second to Macaulay, 38.8% of Cowan's first voters did the same, and a fully 61.2% of McLaren's first voters supported Macaulay with their second vote.

McLaren blamed his defeat on the failure of Macaulay's supporters to reciprocate in an exchange of second votes for a supposedly agreed Macaulay-McLaren ticket. "Mr. Macaulay got a great many votes of my friends ... but I received very small support from them", McLaren claimed at the declaration of the poll. McLaren also blamed his defeat on the Conservatives giving their spilt vote to Cowan.[32] This claim can, in part, be supported : of the Conservatives splits, 38.7% went to Cowan, 15.9% to Macaulay and only 3.3% and 1.9%, respectively, to McLaren and Campbell. For Cowan this meant that 98.7% of the total of his second votes came from the 38.7% of Conservatives who split in his favour. McLaren therefore claimed that it was he, ignoring the splits of the Conservatives, who received the largest share of the Liberal vote, claiming that even the Witness newspaper said that he won the Liberal vote over Cowan by two to one.[33] Because 16.9% of Cowan's supporters split with McLaren, making 86.3% of McLaren's second vote, to this extent the figures support McLaren's assertion that he did receive a significantly greater proportion of the Liberal vote than

did Cowan.

It was McLaren's anger at gaining the greater share of the Liberal vote than his rivals which prompted him, under his guise of the Lord Provost's Committee, to take what The Scotsman described as "a course unusual in England and unprecedented in Scotland of publishing in full the Pollbooks from the late contest for the representation of the city."[34] He hoped that through this action he would discredit Cowan and thus resurrect his own reputation. The Scotsman's review of the pollbook stated that "it told us what we already knew", that Cowan was successful above McLaren because of the help of the Tories. It also mentioned the ecclesiastical support Cowan benefited from. Cowan was 'helped' by 491 splits with Campbell, a second Free Church adherent. (Of Campbell's 625 votes, this is equal to 79% of his vote; the figure derived from the pollbook is 82.4%).

The Scotsman, however, is wrong to say Cowan received 'help' from Campbell's supporters. It will have been noted that Campbell received only 6 out his 600 plus votes from first voters. The votes he received were thus, by the definitions so far used, the second vote of supporters of other candidates. Indeed it should of course be argued the other way round : that 82.4% of Cowan's supporters gave their second vote to Campbell. The only way the ecclesiastical issue could have helped Cowan was that his supporters did not use their second vote to help a serious rival candidate. Although, one could just have easily have argued that Cowan's supporters could have plumped rather than give a second vote to an outside candidate - the influence on the final placings would have been the same. This reveals that there is a certain tension which has been running throughout the forgoing analysis. An analysis of split votes is presumptuous methodologically, and even if sound, is only a partial telling of the story.

Both the newspaper accounts, the summery in Anon (1866), and Hutchison (1986), accept that there is a qualitative difference between first and second vote. Their discussion of the election, which I have so far followed, is that first vote equals a particular candidate's main body of supporters; that the second vote, then, is a kind of floating vote. This view comes, one suspects, from the idea of the plumper, the use of one vote only, to be the pinnacle of adhered support, with the split showing a sign of somewhat lower allegiance. There is however a methodological and a philosophical

point to be made as to whether we can safely use the concept of a 'split vote'. We should pause for a moment and note that the first and second vote is one continuous act. Both votes were place at the same time. When an elector was asked by the enumerators of the pollbook, 'how did you vote?', they probably gave their verbal answer in the order that came to their mind first.[35] If electors were asked specifically to differentiate their first and second votes, then there is still no reason to suggest that there exists a preference hierarchy between the two. Such analysis ignores the idea that voters may have voted for a *pair* of candidates.

To return to the example of the Cowan/Campbell split, the sectarian issue involved was that they were chosen as a pair of candidates to be elected, not that a percentage of one candidate's set of supporters split with another candidate, the point being that it is equally valid to say that a first choice could be a pair of candidates as one would say of a plumped vote. The obverse is that it is invalid to suggest that a split vote means the enactment of a first and second choice. With two votes to cast, the only sensible course of analysis is of plumpers or of pairs of candidates. A split preference vote cannot be safely imputed from the pollbook.

If we contrast the voting for 'pairs' of of those 'plumped' for candidates we obtain a much more sensitive guide to the voting proclivities of the Edinburgh city electorate. The most popular pair of candidates, in terms of share of the vote, were as follows :

Macaulay/McLaren - 19%;
Macaulay/Cowan - 13%;
Cowan/Campbell - 11%;
Cowan/Bruce - 10%.

These pairs were as popular as any single candidate. In their own right McLaren and Bruce each received 11% of the vote (that is, their respective plumpers as a percentage of the votes cast), while Macaulay received 8%, Cowan 3% and Campbell 0.2%.[36] By comparing pairs with plumped candidates we see that McLaren failed as a compromise candidate. McLaren failed to pick up the 'floating voters'. The McLaren/Bruce pair gained only 1% of the vote, while the McLaren/Campbell pair also picked up only 1% of the vote. To explain this election we must discover why McLaren did so badly in comparison with Cowan as a 'pair choice' with Bruce and

with Campbell. The analysis cannot be done in the conventional form of splits, because of the methodological problems already raised. It can be done, however, by breaking the analysis down within a direct comparison between single candidate plumpers and pair candidate choices. The method used was to compare all occupational groups, against the norm for the total population, to discover who were especially prominent as plumpers for the single candidate Bruce, or who chose to pair Bruce with Cowan rather than McLaren.

By this means it is found that it was the 'legal, medical, and defence' occupations which did most to defeat McLaren. When the same approach was followed with respect to Campbell, the Liberal-Conservative Free-Churchman, it was found that where Cowan picked up votes at the expense of McLaren, the dominant occupations were : 'Agriculture, Mines & Quarries', 'Timber', 'Printing and Publishing', 'Business and Financial', 'Religion, and Education'. These were the occupational groups which played a significant part in destroying McLaren's electoral chances. To analyse fully this election, it is clear that the unit of analysis must now become occupational groupings, and not an over-reliance on an empirically weak notion of tactical voting.

(V) 1852 General Election : voting trends & occupational structure

As chapter four described, the dominant occupational structure of Edinburgh was a commercial, craft, and established professional one. This structure was reflected in the number of votes cast by the various occupational categories which made up the enfranchised elite enumerated in the pollbook. It has already been described how the legal, medical, and defence occupations combined in favour of the Cowan/Bruce and against the McLaren/Bruce pair. It should, therefore, not be surprising to learn that the legal profession was especially important as a voting bloc in Edinburgh. The legal grouping (13%) was second largest in number to 'distribution & processing' (who were predominantly shopkeepers) and 'craft' (18% each). However, the legal classification was by far the more homogeneous, being made up of a much smaller range of occupational titles. Table 5.4 below details the distribution of votes for paired and single candidates by the three main occupational groups (coded by 'organisation').

Table 5.4

Selected Occupations by Vote : Candidate Pairs & Plumpers

Votes Cast For Each Candidate or Pair (%)

	M C	M Mcl	M B	M Ca	M	C Mcl	C B	C Ca	C	Mcl B	Mcl Ca	Mcl	B Ca	B	Ca	% of Votes Cast
Law	17.9	5.5	5.3	0.4	14	0.8	14.5	5.9	2.9	0.8	0.4	1.3	0.2	29.9	0	13.2 N=475
Distribution & Processing	12.2	26.4	4.3	1.1	5.1	9.3	7	11.1	3.9	1.1	1.4	15.5	0.5	1.1	0.2	18 N=647
Craft	11.9	26	2.7	0.5	4.9	6.1	6.9	10.8	4.1	1.9	2	18.2	0.9	3.3	0	18 N=639
Total Population	13	19	4.2	0.7	8.2	5.6	10.2	11.3	3.3	0.9	1.2	10.8	0.5	10.6	0.2	100 N=3597

M = Macaulay C = Cowan Mcl = McLaren B = Bruce Ca = Campbell

From Table 5.4 it can be seen that the legal vote contained the stongest Tory support (Bruce):

30% plumped for Bruce (compared to 11% for the population as a whole);[37]
15% (10%) chose the Cowan/Bruce pair,
1% (1%) choosing for McLaren/Bruce.

At the same time, the legal vote was also strongly Liberal, with much support for Macaulay and for Cowan, but not for McLaren. While 18% (13%) chose the Liberal pairing of Macaulay/Cowan and 14% (8 %) plumped for Macaulay, significantly only 6% voted for the pair of Macaulay/McLaren, which, it is remembered, was the most popular pairing for the population as a whole at 19%. Moreover, only 1% (11%) of the legal profession plumped for McLaren and only 1% (6%) chose McLaren/Cowan. It can thus be seen that within the legal professions both its Liberal and its Tory wings voted against McLaren. So the acceptance by Hutchison and Anon (1866) of McLaren's laying of the blame for his failure at the feet of the Tory splits, fails as an adequate explanation of the result. Instead, the legal vote, as an occupational variable, has now been shown as one of the keys to this election result. The danger of relying on an uncritical definition of split voting has been exposed. An occupational-centred analysis of the 1852 election is long over-due.

However this anti-McLaren preference within the legal profession was in contrast to the two largest voting blocs which each showed a consistent preference for McLaren. Distribution & processing, with 18% of all occupational titles, assigned :

McLaren - 16% (11%)
McLaren/Macaulay - 26% (19%)
McLaren/Cowan - 9% (6%)

The radical leanings of the Edinburgh shopkeepers was clearly a factor here.[38] McLaren was quite clearly the most popular choice, both as a plumper and as a pair, for this occupational group.

The craft sector was the equal largest occupational group enumerated in the pollbook with 18% of all titles. To identify the influence of this sector we require to again analyse the occupational structure coded by 'organisation' - the craft sector is otherwise split up when coded by 'production'. This group, numbering 639 voters, divided its vote on the following lines :

McLaren - 18% (11%);
Macaulay/McLaren - 26% (19%);
McLaren/Cowan - 6% (6%);
Bruce - 3% (11%);
Cowan/Bruce - 7% (10%).

The election result was strongly determined by the voting of these three occupational groups, for combined they represented 49% of all votes cast. It can be seen that the legal bloc was split between Tory and Liberal : either plumping for Bruce and the Cowan/Bruce pair, or supporting Macaulay and the Macaulay/Cowan pair. The craft and the distribution & processing sectors preferred McLaren as the Liberal, were happy with Macaulay/Cowan, but were anti-Bruce and anti-Cowan/Bruce. Both these voting blocs voted in a similar way, but their combined 36% of the poll was, to all intends and purposes, counteracted by the legal vote's 13% of the poll. Neither of the biggest two voting blocs were extreme enough to adequately over compensate for the legal vote's hostility to McLaren. It was the sheer unpopularity of McLaren within the legal profession as a candidate to plump for (only 1% compared to 11% for the

population as a whole) and as a pair candidate with Macaulay (6% instead of 19%) which were the decisive figures in McLaren's defeat.

In turn, this hostility to McLaren sealed Cowan's success. As the extremes in McLaren's support mostly cancelled themselves out, Cowan picked up an important 11% (11%) of the vote as a pair with Campbell from both craft, and distribution & processing. This compared again with McLaren who received only 1% from each occupational group for this pair. By applying the variable of occupation to an empirically safer unit of analysis, of plumpers and pairs of candidates, we have reached an understanding of the 1852 general election hitherto unobserved.

This chapter has identified the three most important voting groups in Edinburgh mid-century : legal, craft, and distribution & processing. It has examined the influence of these three groups on the outcome of the 1852 election. Each group was seen to have a decisive impact on the election result, but the homogeneity of the respective legal vote splits was decisive overall. To understand the governing of civil society these three groups must form the occupational unit of analysis. This will be explored in the next chapter when Edinburgh's civil society will be mapped. Central to this thesis is the conceptualisation that the parliamentary political process was not the sole lever of middle class control over civil society. The depth and range of voluntary activity has also been identified as a clear source of class control. The following two chapters will further explore the influence of the three dominant occupational groups, identified here, on Edinburgh's civil society mid-century.

1 Hutchison, I.G.C. (1986) A Political History of Scotland 1832 -1914 : Parties, Elections and Issues, John Donald, Edinburgh : 1.

2 Wilson, Alexander (1970) The Chartist Movement in Scotland, Manchester University Press, Manchester : 30. Although Wilson argues that this excluded the artisan whom, he argues, were the real backbone of the middle class.

3 Cited in Hutchison (1986) : 3.

4 Fry, Michael (1987) Patronage and Principle : A Political History of Modern Scotland , Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen : 73.

5 Morris, Angela (1989) 'Patrimony and Power : A Study of Lairds and Landownership in the Scottish Borders', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh : 107.

6 Morris, Angela (1989) : 92.

7 Hutchison (1986) : 285.

8 Wilson (1970) : 258.

9 See Checkland O. & S. (1989) Industry and Ethos : Scotland 1832-1914 , (2nd edition) Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh : pp.70-74; and Wilson (1970) : 124.

10 Wilson (1970) : 125.

11 Wilson (1970) : 150.

12 Fry (1987) : 69.

13 Fry (1987) : 74, 70.

14 Hutchison (1986) ; Also Fry (1987), and for a case study of Edinburgh see : Williams, Jeffrey C. (1972) Edinburgh Politics : 1832-1852, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh.

15 Hutchison (1986) : 59.

16 Hutchison (1986) : 60.

17 Fry (1987) : 57.

18 Cockburn, H. (1874) Journal of Henry Cockburn, Being a Continuation of His Memorials of His Time, Volume II (1831-1854) , Edmonston & Douglas, Edinburgh : 161; Also quoted in Fry (1987) : 57-58.

19 Macaulay won by 1735 votes to Smith's 832.

20 Anon (1866) The Approaching General Election, being the past and present state of the various political parties in Edinburgh and the possible result of the Election , D. Mathers, Edinburgh : 20-21.

21 Hutchison (1986) : 65.

22 Cockburn (1874) Journal, Volume II : 191.

23 Cockburn (1874) Journal, Volume II : 191-192.

24 Williams (1972) : 54. Dod, C. R. (1853) Electoral Facts from 1832 to 1853 : Impartially stated, constituting a complete political gazetteer edited by H. J. Hanham(1972) Harvester Press, Brighton : 105.

25 Fry (1987) : 61.

26 Hutchison (1986) : 68.

27 Cockburn (1874) Journal, Volume II : 284.

28 Dod (1853) : 105. The Scotsman, 17th July 1852.

29 List of the Electors of the City of Edinburgh, arranged according to their residence, Corrected after Appeal Court 1854, showing the voting at the general election, July 1852 (1854) Edinburgh.

30 The largest percentage of non-voters is due to the source being revised in 1854 and thus containing a large number who had been enroled since the 1852 election was held, and therefore had not voted. Because the entire pollbook was transcribed into machine-readable form ,this non-voting bloc is picked up in the results.

31 It is important to note that the voting figures enumerated in the pollbook only amount to , on average, 85% of the total published in the contemporary press. No evidence has been found to explain this discrepancy. Since the 'missing votes' are proportional to all candidates, and that for our purposes

the analysis is in percentage terms, this inconsistency was deemed not to be a serious problem.

[32] The Scotsman 17 July 1852. A crosstabulation between first and second vote shows that only 0.3% of those giving Macaulay their first vote gave their second to McLaren.

[33] The Scotsman 17 July 1852.

[34] The Scotsman, 4 August, 1852.

[35] There is also the related problem of textual error by the transcriber of the pollbook, both unintentional and intentional. See Baskerville, S. W., P. Adman and Beedham, K. F. (1991) "Manuscript Poll Books and English County Elections in the First Age of Party : A Consideration of their Provenance and Purpose", Archives, Vol. XIX, No. 86, October.

[36] See Table 4.4 for the full distribution of votes for pairs and single candidates.

[37] The figures given in parentheses refer to the population as a whole, as presented in table 5.4.

[38] Gray, R. Q. (1976) The Labour Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, The Clarendon Press, Edinburgh; although the opposite conclusion is reached for later in the century in McCrone, D. and B. Elliott (1989) Property and Power in a City : the Sociological Significance of Landlordism , Macmillan, Basingstoke.

Chapter six
Edinburgh's Civil Society c.1854
The 'Public Life' of the Bourgeoisie

It is important that the public life of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie in the years surrounding 1854 is properly understood. The purpose of this exercise is not only descriptive, although it is necessary that the sheer level of voluntary and subscriber-based activity is fully realised. The role of voluntary activity as a vehicle for expressing economic and political power, and as points of status conflict are central to the process of class formation.[1] This chapter will detail the constitutional structures of the voluntary societies of this period, showing their importance to middle class association. It will also treat the voluntary society as a tool for cross-class influence. Not only was the voluntary society a central focus for the middle class's conception of itself as a coherent class, it also enabled it to bargain with and 'control' the working class. The voluntary organisation was the practical means by which the middle class could engage their hegemonic grip. As Koditschek has argued for Bradford :

> "Through the culture of voluntaryism, the bourgeoisie would finally attempt to achieve that social consensus around its values and authority that neither the work of production nor the free flows of the market had, in themselves, been able to create."[2]

It is this attempt by the middle classes to maintain and administer hegemonic control which is the common theme in the conceptualisation of governing civil society which runs throughout this thesis. Thus it can be seen why it is appropriate that the discussion now turns its focus to the 'public life' of the Edinburgh middle class. By mapping out the extent of 'public life' participation, it is possible to begin to flesh out empirically the concept of 'government' at the level of civil society.

To analyse the structure of this public activity it is advantageous, as stated in chapter four, to follow the conventions used by the compilers of the Edinburgh Almanac. It will be remembered that to 'dissect' Edinburgh the compilers used seven subsections, the first section being 'Municipal Establishments'. The courts and council acted as the first layer of social structure in Edinburgh's civil society, the legally required municipal institutions necessary for Edinburgh to function as a city. Now, to reach a full understanding of what the concept of 'governing one's civil society' meant, we must examine the second layer of Edinburgh's social structure. This is the layer of activity, not legally required, but set up in all towns and cities in this period, primarily

as a response to rapid urbanisation. It is the layer that be may referred to as the 'public life' of the Edinburgh middle class. Equally, a variety of terms such as 'voluntary activity', 'public acts', 'philanthropic activity', 'status presentations', or even acts of 'cultural power' could have been used. Each term has a degree of validity in its inference - but the best overarching term, and the more neutral, is 'public life'. This chapter will present the remaining six sections of the Almanac and highlight the range of activities which made up the Edinburgh bourgeoisie's 'public life'.

To aid our understanding of Edinburgh's civil society it is useful to break the analysis of the Almanac into two parts. The first part will describe the structure and objectives of voluntary societies which are essentially philanthropic in nature. This will encompass Section II of the Almanac, "Religious Institutions", and Section V "Benevolent and Charitable Institutions". The second part of the analysis presented will describe societies which are concerned more with 'self-help' than the help of others; societies which are part and parcel of expressions of status and cultural power - as such they complete the structure of Edinburgh's civil society. These latter societies come under the headings of Section III "Educational Establishments", Section IV "Scientific and Literary Institutions", and Section VI "Commercial Institutions". Section VII "Miscellaneous Lists" includes miscellaneous societies from many of the previous subsections. For the purpose of brevity in the analysis these miscellaneous lists have been grouped together with their generic type.

PART ONE

PHILANTHROPIC VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS

(I) "Section II Religious Institutions."

Perhaps the greatest degree of activity by the Edinburgh bourgeoisie at this time was under the auspices of societies and organisations directly run by or, at the very least, under the nominal patronage of the religious denominations. Such societies provide good examples of the distinguishing characteristics of Victorian voluntary societies. As a result of the Disruption of the Established Church in 1843, co-dominant were the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland.

This list is reproduced in Appendix 5 in order that three general points can be made. The first is that there exists a whole *range* of societies which come under the heading, in this case, of "religious and missionary" societies. This leads to the second point

which is that this list is certainly not conclusive; in common with all the lists to be presented in this chapter, it is based on the information and value judgements of the compilers of the Almanac. In turn, a third point follows : that it must be acknowledged that the societies to be discussed are exemplars of the range of societies, and in part the choice is source-driven. That being said, the choice is primarily made to distinguish the structure, aims and activities of all the forms of voluntary activity.

(i) Interdenominational Rivalry

Of those societies which can be categorised as promoting religious adherence, the first point to be made concerns the degree of competition which existed between the denominations. Both the Established Church and the Free Church had, for example, ladies' associations with the aim of advancing female education in India. Similarly there was denominational competition in support for missions for the destitute and the homeless. The Baptist Home Mission co-existed with the Edinburgh Church of England Missionary Society, while both operated alongside the Edinburgh Mission in aid of the Moravian Mission, the Edinburgh Auxiliaries to the Irish Evangelical Society, and the London Missionary Society. Although there was certainly much cooperation between the different denominations, tensions did exist. The best example of an inter-denominational recruitment battle concerned the heated rivalry between the Sabbath School Teachers' Unions.

By the 1850s, enormous numbers of children were being enrolled into Sunday Schools, creating problems of teacher supply. There was therefore a strong pull on Teacher Unions to train the staff numbers required. To meet the demands of increasing pupil enrolments the number of Sabbath School Societies in Scotland increased. In the case of Glasgow, where Olive Checkland has been able to provide figures, the Glasgow Sabbath School Union claimed to have 115 Sabbath Schools on its books in 1853; by 1870 the figure was 187 with 6,692 teachers and 69,022 scholars. Sunday School education was a prime battleground between all the denominations. As Olive Checkland has argued for Glasgow,

> "All the protestant denominations were involved, including the Church of Scotland, the Free Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the United Original Seceders, the Congregational Church, the Baptists, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Primitive Methodist Church, and the Episcopalian Church."[3]

In Edinburgh there existed the Edinburgh Sabbath School Teachers' Union (Free Church) and the Edinburgh Sabbath School Teachers' Association (Established), who

themselves were locked into recruitment battles. Religious education was, therefore, a source of conflict between the religious proselytising societies of mid-Victorian Scotland.

(ii) Interdenominational Co-operation - the temperance movement

An example where we can locate a much greater sense of inter-denominational co-operation, and which is second point to note in this chapter, is amongst those societies within the temperance movement.

It is here that it is possible to detect a much greater degree of unity of purpose. The beer trade had been freed in 1830, and the wine trade in 1860. Both had been freed following a campaign to make milder and purer drinks available and thus, it was hoped, to remedy some of the dangers of alcohol abuse.[4] The opposition to these policies came from the temperance movement. Its first society was set up in 1828, and various teetotal and abstinence societies grew up in the 1830s. This movement, although allied with the Liberal Party in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, existed outside the structure of the local government or the state. The movement tried for moderation in the consumption of drink; it tried for total abstinence - a 'long' pledge or even a 'short' pledge. Some supporters tried for 'education', some for 'prohibition' - a division forged in 1853 when the U.K. Alliance was formed "to outlaw all trading in intoxicating liquor."[5] In its various guises, the movement set up multifarious societies, cricket and football clubs, held lectures and organised outings and soirees. There was a conscious attempt to provide an escape route for those who wished to free themselves from a Victorian culture which revolved around the consumption of alcohol. It aimed to create a counter-culture where drink was absent, unmissed. The major success of the temperance movement was the Public House (Forbes Mackenzie) Act of 1853 which developed from the controls imposed by Lord Provost Duncan McLaren in Edinburgh.[6] Apart from that success, however, the temperance movement at this time circumvented state legislation and tried to solve a perceived social problem by direct intervention in the public life of Victorian Britain. It was essentially a movement of Evangelical dissenters, and thus the early link between religion and temperance was through the Free Church.[7] But unlike the almost open warfare within the Sunday School movement, from mid-century onwards, the issue of intemperance was one that was characterised by much inter-denominational harmony.

In both the instances of the Sunday schools and the temperance movement, it can be seen that there existed a set of societies which acted as a structure which enabled a

range of social issues to be tackled within civil society. The extent of this range will become clear throughout this chapter; for the moment it is instructive to look in a little more detail at some of the societies involved in the temperance movement in mid-century Edinburgh. This has two functions - firstly it will serve as an introduction to the structure of a typical Victorian voluntary society; secondly it will highlight some of the resources mobilised by the temperance movement in its attempts to impose its values and teachings on the Edinburgh working classes, and to do so without recourse to the state.

(iii) The structure of the voluntary society

Instituted in 1836, the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society's published report for 1853 was its seventeenth and it details a meeting held on 6th September 1853 of the office bearers, and of a meeting held the next night which was the annual meeting of the society's members.[8] The structure of the society is reproduced below :

Figure 6.1
The Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society, Office Bearers 1852-53[9]

Honorary Directors :

Sir Walter C. Trevalyan, Bart.	Rev. Joseph Brown, D. D.
John Brown, Esq., M. D.	Rev. R. D. Duncan
Thomas Knox, Esq.	Rev. William Reid
William Menzies, Esq., M. D.	Rev. James Robertson
Rev. J. L. Aikman	Rev. Alexander Wallace

President
John S. Marr, Bank of Scotland

Vice-Presidents :
W. F. Cuthbertson, 36 Howe Street
James Gilbert, 6 Canongate
J. Robertson, 40 N. Richmond Street
John Vallance, 22 Society

Treasurer : John Hill, 13 Blair Street
Corresponding Secretary : Roger Lawson, Pilrig Model Buildings
Secretary and Collector : W. K. Rose, 2 North Bridge
Missionary : Alexander McDonald
Committee of Management :

John Adair	David Little
Robert W. Armour	Lauchlan Mackenzie
George Beddie	Ebenezer Murray
Dr. Brodie	Alexander Paterson
James Buchanan	Selby Robson
Thomas Campbell	Robert Shiels
James Drummond	James Watson
William Friend	John Wharton

Ladies' Visiting Committee :
President : Mrs. Johnson
Vice-President : Mrs. Homson
Treasurer : Mrs. McLean
Secretaries : Mrs. Armour & William Birrell

Mrs. Renton	Mrs. Irvine	Mrs. Wells
Mrs. Birrell	Mrs. Mushet	Miss Brown
Mrs. Muir	Mrs. Brown	Miss Dobson
Mrs. Gordon	Mrs. Bell	Miss Mossman

This structure was typical of its kind at this time.[10] A clear hierarchy existed : The honorary directors, president, vice-president and then treasurer and secretary - a descending hierarchy of status positions. Each position was inversely related to the incumbent's level of day-to-day activity in the society. R. J. Morris has described such a structure as a 'subscriber democracy' where the range of power positions allowed for a finely graded series of status hierarchies to be played out. One paid one's subscription and thereby agreed to abide by the aims of that society, to follow its rules, and to fit in to one's place in its hierarchical constitution.[11]

The committee of management was the real centre of all organisation and decision making. These people were the 'doers', the most active of the 'active middle class'. Not of the highest rank of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie, the committee of management were often the younger, aspiring parvenus. Typical also was the presence of a patron, or, as in this example a president (who was usually honorary). Davidoff and Hall note for Birmingham the symbolic importance of Lord Calthorpe, the local Evangelical peer, as patron to any middle class society.[12] R. J. Morris in his study of Leeds found that even a society which had little practical need of patronage, such as the Leeds Permanent Building Society, still sought for itself the public approval of the elite.[13] In Edinburgh the pinnacle of respectability was to have the Queen as patron. Frequently, however, that position or that of President was filled by either the Lord Provost or the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry. From my survey of the Almanac, and of other sources, the Lord Provost was found to be an office bearer of thirty four societies and Buccleuch of twenty four - and these are certainly underestimates.

Notice also the 'Ladies' Visiting Committee'. It was very common that such a committee would be attached to a male dominated organisation. Notice also that the secretary was a man, William Birrell. The presence of a man in the structure of a ladies' committee was also very much the norm, although unlike this example, the position taken was usually that of Treasurer, for the reason that money was involved. Men tended to address such ladies' committees - women were rarely accorded the

privilege of publicly speaking to their own sex, let alone the society proper. Davidoff and Hall make the point for the Birmingham Infant School:

> "Women had no professional skills to offer, they were not bankers or lawyers, nor were they appealed to publicly. Rather, the committee privately solicited their wives, daughters, relatives and friends to form a ladies' committee to take on the work of visiting. Subsequently, as was usually the case with such arrangements, the men's committee had all the formal power but the ladies' committee dealt with many practical arrangements concerning the girls. Clearly much of the negotiation in such cases was done informally. A wife on the ladies' committee would mention to her husband on the gentleman's committee some matter arising, and he would attend to it."[14]

The public life of women was certainly heavily curtailed in favour of men. But as Davidoff and Hall indicate, women did find for themselves a role in carrying out the 'visit'. A 'visiting committee' was one of the most common tactics of a 'missionary' type society such as this. It allowed for the member to carry their message forth to a working class home, or the home of the poor. This enabled the society to focus its message on those whom it believed needed to hear it most; it gave society members a 'hands on' task to absolve their Christian conscience and so feel they were intervening in a problem; it also allowed the collection of case study material which could then be presented in an annual report to illustrate the society's work and to solicit subscriptions or donations. The 'visit' was thus an important resource in the armoury of a 'missionary' type society. If we now turn our attention to the the aims and purposes of the Total Abstinence Society, then we can begin to build up a more complete picture of the types of resources mobilised by this and similar campaigning societies.

(iv) Resources and Tactics : The Total Abstinence Society

Two of its main, or perhaps predominant, campaigning weapons of the Total Abstinence Society were the published tract and the public meeting. The tracts were often distributed during visits by Society members to the homes of potential 'pledgers'. For the year 1852-1853 the Society claims to have distributed 117,000 tracts, the breakdown of which is shown below :

Figure 6.2
Total Abstinence Society : Distributed Tracts in Edinburgh, 1852-53[15]

50,000 of Rev. W. Reid's Tract on Sabbath Statistics
5,000 of Edward Baines' Testimony and Appeal
20,000 of the Scottish Temperance League's Narrative Series
42,000 of miscellaneous kinds.
Total = 117,000

Despite what seems an enormous amount of distributed literature, the 1854 Report called for "a more complete series of tracts" to maintain the momentum of the campaign. The result of this plea was the publication of what was entitled the Edinburgh Series of Temperance Tracts. The twelve tracts are listed below[16]; their titles provide a clear enough idea of their content.

Figure 6.3
Edinburgh Series of Temperance Tracts

1. Christian Witness - Bearing against the Sin of Intemperance. Rev. H. Bonar, D. D., Kelso.
2. Look before you Leap - An Appeal to Young Men. John Stewart, Esq., ed. of Edinburgh News.
3. Better Dwellings for the Working Classes, and how to get them. A. Prentice, Esq., Manchester.
4. A Word by the Way to the Wives of Working Men. Rev. D. Ogilvie, A. M., Broughty Ferry.
5. The Workshop and the Dramshop; or, a Bag with Holes. Rev. Alexander Wallace, Edinburgh.
6. The Working Man's Home. J. H. Dawson, Esq., ed. of Kelso Chronicle.
7. Christ or Bacchus : which ought the Church to Help ? Rev. William Reid, Edinburgh.
8. Health, the Abstainer's Hope : Disease, the Spirit Drinker's Doom. D. Brodie, Esq., M. D., Edinburgh.
9. The Followers of the Young Mr. Timothy. Rev. James Morrison, Glasgow.
10. The Household Blessing. Miss Carla Lucas Balfour.
11. Temperance as affecting the Interests of Employers and the Employed. A. Prentice, Esq., Manchester.
12. Juvenile Delinquency : the Fruit of Parental Intemperance. Mary Carpenter, author of Reforming Schools and Juvenile Delinquents, their Condition and Treatment.

The published tract was certainly a heavily used tactic by a society such as the Total Abstinence Society, but so too was the public meeting. The 18th Annual Report of the Total Abstinence Society for 1854 recorded over 100 meetings held in that year - including a series of meetings held weekly in the Free Canongate Church during the winter months.[17] The success of a series of lectures by John B. Gough on behalf of the Society in January of 1854 was such that 1252 members joined, compared with only 384 for the corresponding month the previous year.

The use of the meeting and, also, the school, rather than the tract, was the campaigning tactic of another temperance society, the British League of Juvenile Abstainers. The great object of the British League was to :

> "...save the young from the many evils which they are surrounded, especially the evils connected with the use of alcohol, tobacco, snuff, and opium, by educating the mind in reference to the nature of these stimulants, and thus prevent them from forming those habits which many of riper years have felt to their cost."[18]

The British League, in the session 1857-58, operated twenty children's meetings held weekly, thirty-six day schools and six apprentice schools, all held in Edinburgh. It laid great store in stating that each meeting opened and closed with a prayer and, especially, that all the schools were free.[19] The meeting, the lecture, and the school lesson were, therefore, powerful campaigning weapons for voluntary societies in this period.

The Edinburgh Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness was slightly different in its appealing techniques, in contrast to the Total Abstinence Society and the British League of Juvenile Abstainers. The Association relied on the use of statistics to warn the population of drink. In its 'Plea', an introductory pamphlet to its work, the Association carefully evaluated the value to trade, the spirit makers and sellers, and to the exchequer, of the sale of liquor.[20] The distillers, the wine merchants, and spirit dealers were all accused by the Association as being being "content to rear splendid fortunes out of the ruins of other men's homes, and, like the poisonous fungi that live on decay, to grow rich on other men's corruption, [and] we have no sympathy to waste on them."[21] As an alternative to those profiting out of misery, the Association argued that the shopkeeper would and should benefit from the increased sales of tea, coffee and the like.

We are beginning to see how the Association developed a rational argument against the sale of liquor. The debate was moved away from rhetoric and eloquence and instead a rational, empirically based case was constructed. As to the charge that the Association's proposals would be a restriction on trade, the Association's retort was to the point :

> "If anything could make Liberty stink in the nostrils of the people, it would be to hear her name profaned to such ignoble ends, and see her sacred shields hung up at the door of a dram shop."[22]

This is fine rhetoric, but the Association then quotes the tabular returns of the 12th Report of the Inspector of Prisons in Scotland showing, "... THE CLOSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DRINKING HOUSES, POVERTY AND CRIME."[23] The Association details the Inspector of Prisons' assertion that drunkenness was the cause, more than any other, of crime and misery in the population. That drunkenness cost an immense amount of human life and cost the country an enormous amount of

money was the claim. In addition, the Association presented the statistics of the Edinburgh Poor House, showing that :

> "Of 2,270 out-door pensioners, including adults and children, 1,816 have been reduced to the condition of paupers from habits of intemperance in themselves or relatives.
>
> Of 631 in-door patients, including adults and children, 505 have been reduced to the condition of paupers from habits of intemperance in themselves or relatives.
>
> This gives 80% of the pauperism in Edinburgh as the fruits of drunkenness."[24]

With the Edinburgh Charity Workhouse also claiming that two-thirds are brought to poverty by their own intemperance, the Association believed it had built a sound case for the suppression of drunkenness.

Statistics were being employed more and more by mid-century Victorians. In 1851 there was "An inquiry into destitution, prostitution and crime in Edinburgh", confident in its use of "facts" to identify a problem and to find its solution :

> "And now to portray crime in all its hideousness, - to show vice her own image in all its appalling loathsomeness, - to paint poverty in its squalid rags, and with its paralysing wretchedness, - and to do this strictly and truthfully, without borrowing a line from romance, a single colour from imagination, or the slightest shade from fancy, but letting the naked picture stand boldly forth in the harsh and stern reality of FACTS, such *is* our object..."[25] [original emphasis]

The statistics the Inquiry produced can be seen in table 6.4 showing the comparative figures on consumption of spirits in England, Scotland and Ireland derived from the abstract of a paper presented to the British Association by G. R. Porter of the Board of Trade.

Table 6.4

Comparative consumption of spirits in England, Scotland and Ireland.[26]

	Men, women & children	Total Expenditure
England	0.569 gallons	£8,205,242
Scotland	2.647 gallons	£6,285,114
Ireland	0.853 gallons	£6,319,852

Note : - These figures are totally irrespective of an estimated outlay on beer (in which is understood porter and ale also) of £25,383,165, and for brandy of £3,281,250; while for tobacco £7,588,607.

The total expenditure figure is yearly; the time period for the number of gallons of spirits consumed is not stated, but one suspects it is weekly.

It can clearly be seen that reasoned and logical argument, backed up by a few choice statistics, could become a powerful campaigning resource - it was one that the Edinburgh Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness exploited to its full advantage.

Two points are apparent if we summarize the findings gleaned from our extended examination of Edinburgh's temperance societies, representing the the Almanac's 'religious and missionary' section. The first is that the structure of the voluntary society was hierarchical; it usually had an honorary head or patron and often a number of honorary positions, with much of the day-to-day management being done by a committee of management, who were usually of a lower status level than those in the honorary position. Also, it had been identified that a separate ladies' committee was frequently attached to such a society - but had little formal power. The second point made concerned how such societies fulfilled their self appointed remit. It was argued that recourse was not made to the state nor local government, but instead use was made of a number of resources to transmit their message directly to, usually, the working classes. Four tactics were identified. The first was the use of the 'visit', the second the publication of the tract, the third the use of the lecture or the school room, the fourth the use of statistics to back up reasoned argument.

Further characteristics of the complex voluntary society sector which structured Edinburgh's civil society can be seen by shifting our focus from 'Religious and Missionary' societies to another subsection of the Almanac, 'Benevolent and Charitable Institutions'.

(II) "Section V Benevolent and Charitable Institutions."

The Almanac lists the benevolent and charitable institutions in Edinburgh in 1854 deemed worthy of inclusion. Those societies are collated in Appendix 6 :

This section covering charitable and benevolent societies can be split up into six generic types. These are :

(a) 'Industrial and improvement' Societies
(b) 'Area' Societies
(c) 'Clan' Societies

(d) 'Hospital' Charities
(e) 'Societies engaged with the Irish 'problem"
(f) 'Down at luck' Institutions

By taking each subsection in turn it is possible to reach a fuller understanding of the pervasiveness of voluntary activity in mid-nineteenth century Edinburgh, and also closer to a fuller understanding of the potential resources mobilised in governing that civil society.

(a) 'Industrious and Improvement' Societies

Unlike societies which campaigned using the tract, the lecture or case-study evidence from visits, and hence exerted moral persuasion, industrial and improvement societies centred their fund-raising activities on the exchange of goods and services. Hence their ethos was distinct from the straight charitable donation. Such societies also insisted that those who came to them for assistance be given either new skills or a semblance of education. This ideology of 'improvement' was not only aimed at benefiting its clients, it was also to discourage 'wasters' and therefore reassure patrons that their financial help would not go to the undeserving.

An example of this type of society is the Society for the Industrious Blind. The objectives of this charity were manifold, although in its Report of 1858, three clear aims were laid out for the Society :

> (1) "It affords employment to the indigent and deserving blind; pays them certain wages or remuneration for work done; provides for them in sickness, and clothes them.
>
> (2) It instructs the youthful inmates in certain branches of manufacture, whereby eventually they may be enabled to turn their abilities to some account for their support, and so make them useful members of society, and less dependant upon others for that assistance which their want of sight would naturally imply.
>
> (3) The benefits of religious and secular education, (and the Directors congratulate themselves in being enabled to dispense such great blessings), are afforded to those who might otherwise have remained in mental as well as visual darkness, or what, perhaps, is infinitely worse that total ignorance, might become vitiated and callous, not only to the things of time but of eternity."[27]

This was a charitable body that tried as much as was possible to be financially independent, free of complete reliance on charitable donations. The ethos of the

regime required that the residents were willing to work for their living. It was very much a case of offering a tangible return for a charitable 'donation'.

This notion of exchange was perceived as the central reason which maintained the existence of this society since its inception in 1793. However the Society was all too aware of the impossibility of the manufactures of the 99 blind workers under its care trading successfully in the market place. In the annual report of 1857 it bemoaned that in fact the Society could not compete "...with manufacturing establishments, where manufacturing is used, and artisans possessing the blessings of sight are employed."[28] The money earned by the Society for its goods and services was never sufficient to keep it in business. Thus an important qualification is that while the Society operated within an ideological framework where financial support was gained in receipt for work done, for its actual survival it was still heavily dependent on subscriptions and, especially, on one-off donations and legacies. That being said, however, such purely monetary donations were solicited and given on the assumption that the patients would be morally and educationally 'improved' - a function the Society for the Industrious Blind was pleased to perform.

(b) 'Area' Societies

A second characteristic of the type of benevolent and charitable society operating in the mid-nineteenth century was what can be termed the 'area' society. Such societies, based in Edinburgh, existed to provide charitable assistance for specified geographical areas. Examples include : The Edinburgh Aberdeenshire Club, The Edinburgh Morayshire Club, The Edinburgh Morayshire Mechanics' Society, The Edinburgh Caithness Association, The Edinburgh Upper-Ward of Lanarkshire Association, the Edinburgh Galloway Association, The Edinburgh Angus Club, The Orkney and Shetland Charitable Society, The Social Peeblean Society, and The Edinburgh Kinross-shire Society. To take just one of these societies, the Edinburgh Angus Club, which was instituted in 1841, it formed a special bursary fund and planned to "greatly ... promote the interests and cause of education in the county of Angus."[29] The report quoted was from the Edinburgh society, but similar societies existed in Dundee, Arbroath, Montrose and in many other places on the East Coast of Scotland.

The importance of these 'area' societies is that they formed a tangible link between lowland urban Scotland and its rural and highland 'periphery'. It is probable that such societies were not found in the rest of Britain, and they do indicate strongly the

perception of certain local problems as Scottish national problems. As we shall see later, this point was no more apparent than over the issue of the relief of Highland destitution.

(c) Clan Societies

A related type of society is the 'clan' society. An example of this was the Clan Gregor Society, founded in 1822 following George IV's visit to Scotland in that year.[30] His Majesty arrived in Edinburgh on August 13th. He docked at Leith, then travelled in State to Holyrood Palace and from there to Edinburgh Castle to receive the Scottish regalia. He addressed all the Clans, assembled in their plaids, and gave his now famous toast :

> "Gentlemen, I shall give you another toast, in which you shall heartily join me. I shall simply give you : 'the Chieftans and Clans of Scotland, and God bless the Land of Cakes."[31]

During George's visit to Scotland the Clan MacGregor was entrusted along with the Celtic Society to guard the Scottish Regalia - "the sacred relics of our ancient and national independence."[32] Appearing in the full garb and tartan of the Clan this was the first time they had gathered together for almost a century.[33] From this gathering there developed a shared concern over the poverty of their fellow clansmen and women following the '45. The society was formed. Its chief objective was to :

> "...extend to the poor of the Clan the blessing of a sound and a Christian education....To assist in the education of young men belonging to the Clan-Gregor, bearing the names of MacGregor, Gregor, Gregorson, or Gregory.... who give indications of talent and genius, and who intend qualifying themselves for any learned professions, for the army or navy, or for mercantile pursuits."[34]

This was not the first Clan to resurrect itself as a society in this way. As early as 1725, and therefore before the '45, there was founded in Glasgow a Buchanan Society to assist the poor of that clan and to educate its children. While in 1806, also in Glasgow, a body of clansmen formed the Mackay Society. This was a group of city traders, grocers, vintners and the like who formed a society with the aim of helping their clansmen 'in time of afflictive dispensations'. This society was reconstituted as the Clan Mackay Society in 1888 when all the other clans began to follow the example of the Clan Gregor Society in both helping the disadvantaged bearing their clan name

and also, by the 1880s, in an effort to preserve the history and literature of their clan.[35]

The Clan Gregor was certainly the most active of its type and, therefore, it is the example of which most is known. The Clan Gregor's office bearers for 1830 are shown below. They show clearly the importance of the clan name in its organisational structure.

Figure 6.5
Office Bearers elected to the Clan-Gregor Society , 21st May 1830[36]

Hereditary Patron : Sir Evan John Murray MacGregor of MacGregor, Bart.
President : Colonel Robert Murray MacGregor.
Vice-Presidents : Lieutenant-Colonel Robert B. MacGregor; Sir James MacGregor, Director-General of the Medical Department.
Extraordinary Directors : Alexander MacGregor, Esq., Merchant, Glasgow; Rev. William Gregor, Bowhill; Lieutenant-Colonel Duncan MacGregor, 93rd Highlanders; Malcolm McGregor, Esq., British Consul, Panama; Patrick MacGregor, Esq., Cashier, Commercial Bank of Scotland; John Gregorson, Esq., of Ardtornish; John Gregory, Esq., Advocate; William Gregory, Esq., Writer, Glasgow; Captain MacGregor Skinner, R. N.; Colonel J. P. MacGregor, India.
Ordinary Directors : Major Hugh McGregor, H. P., 63rd Regiment; James MacGregor, Esq.; Rev. James Gregory, Dublin; Rev. John Gibson MacGregor, Edinburgh; John MacGregor, Esq., Writer, Edinburgh; John MacGregor, Esq., Brunswick Place, Glasgow; Peter MacGregor, Esq., George Street, Edinburgh; Rev. Mr. MacGregor Souter, Skye; Captain Malcolm MacGregor, 78th Highlanders; Rev. Wm. MacGregor Stirling, Edinburgh; Josiah MacGregor, Esq., Glasgow; James MacGregor, Esq., Fort William; Donald Gregory, Esq., Edinburgh; Alexander MacGregor, jun., Esq., Glasgow; Joseph MacGregor, Esq., Acct., Edinburgh; Alexander MacGregor, Esq., of Liverpool; William Gregory, Esq., Edinburgh; Rev. Simon MacGregor, Edinburgh; Captain John MacGregor, Rothesy.
Treasurer : John MacGregor, Commercial Bank, Edinburgh.
Secretary : James Murray MacGregor, Esq., Accountant, Edinburgh.
Convener of Directors in Glasgow : Alexander MacGregor, jun., Esq., Glasgow.
Collector for Glasgow and West of Scotland : John MacGregor, Esq., Brunswick Place, Glasgow.

The rules of the society demanded that the applicants for their bursaries had statements regarding their moral character certified by their Minister and one of the Heritors of their Parish. The Clan Gregor Society was, then, a typical philanthropic society offering a helping hand as aid to self help, but was also laced with the usual trimmings of respectability and moral wholesomeness. In addition, and this is what makes this type of society distinct, the ideological justification for its role was one set heavily in the mythical memories and story-telling of Sir Walter Scott, and one rooted in beliefs about with the clans' purpose of guarding both clan members and, importantly, Scotland's independence : the clan name acting as the point of continuity through history.

Taken together, the 'area' and the 'clan' societies represent clear channels of philanthropic activity, narrow in direction, orientated to place of origin. They are important because they conjure up memories of an old Scottish society unchanged by industrialisation. Such societies were therefore links between urban and rural Scotland, between Lowland and Highland.

Equally, they again makes the point that a dominant characteristic of philanthropic activity is its specificity of function. It is this specificity which makes it necessary that a vast number of societies be in operation. There was no one institution, or set of institutions, which was going to fill the gap - that had to wait for a new ideology of state intervention in the twentieth century.

(d) Hospital Charities

From the list of benevolent and charitable societies presented in Appendix 6 it can be seen that there existed a number of charities directed specifically at hospital care. One such body was the Royal Dispensary and Vaccine Institution, instituted in 1776, incorporated by Royal Charter, and probably the first of its kind. It was proud of its reputation for the treatment of "patients of all classes."[37] For the year 1854 its Annual Report states that the Institution had dealt with over 10,000 such patients. The use of tabular information was a common tactic of societies relying on charitable donations to carry out their work. In this case statistics were provided in the Report to enable prospective subscribers to evaluate the relative success of the Institution in its work. In particular it had to attract support away from its rival, the New Town Dispensary, which had been set up in 1815 - although eventually the two did begin to work together.[38]

Statistics were also used by the Committee set up to enact an appeal for the then proposed Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh in 1859.[39] By showing that half of infants die before they reach the age of six, and that the appalling level of infant mortality accounted for nearly half of all deaths in Scottish cities, the Committee hoped to raise £6000 for the cost of the building and £1200 for its annual running costs. The argument presented to the people of Edinburgh was that "poverty is so hard that intervention is necessary." Equally, intervention was proposed to built better housing for the working population in an effort to improve their health. But, unlike the Children's Hospital, this proposal was not enacted until the turn of the century.[40] The scale of investment required to intervene in the housing supply meant that this concern

was primarily one of municipal government. The ideology of intervention was, in the 1830-1860 period, a fragile construct which was able to survive only in civil society.

Two points should be taken from the above examples of hospital charities. The first, fundamental to both appeals, was the use of statistics and tabular returns to add weight and authority to any appeal for subscriptions, donations and legacies. Throughout our period of study, as the 'petitioning' middle classes become active in their publishing activities, so too does their use of empirical evidence to support their case.

The second point to be taken is demonstrated by the appeal for the proposed hospital for sick children. "Intervention" was specifically called for to try and temper the perceived problem of dire infant mortality. But this intervention was not to involve the Parliamentary state nor the municipal state. The problem was to be tackled within the voluntary sector. A group of middle class worthies had come together as a Committee and sent out an appeal to the citizens of Edinburgh to provide the finance, both fixed and recurring, for setting up of a children's hospital. The path towards the solution to the problem of child mortality in the Scottish cities was to be reached within Scottish civil society.

Three further short examples within this section of hospital charities will help to emphasise this point : the Royal Lunatic Asylum, the Maiden Hospital and the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society. The Royal Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum was heavily dependent on charitable donations for its existence. In the Report of 1843 it was stated that of the funds donated in the previous year, £1000 which was derived from legacies while £3078.11.11 was paid by subscribers (including £50 from Her Majesty the Queen Dowager who become patron in 1840).[41] Edinburgh had one of the seven Royal Asylums which had been built in Scotland since the 1780s. They relied on remarkable personalities and charitable donation for their survival until the Lunatic Asylums (Scotland) Act of 1857; then they were taken into state control under the auspices of a General Board of Commissioners.[42]

The Maiden Hospital was founded in 1707 by the craftsmen of Edinburgh and Mary Erskine. It was a hospital for, in fine Victorian terminology, "the daughters and grand children of the female sex of decayed craftsmen."[43] Typical of its type, its constitution was framed in very religious language, and it was run within very strict guideline's, as its rules for the government and order of the hospital indicate :

Figure 6.6

Rules of the Edinburgh Maiden Hospital, 1859[44]

I General Rules.
II Rules respecting the Matron.
III Rules respecting the Governors.
IV Rules respecting the Girls.
V Rules respecting the Servants.
VI Rules respecting the Teachers and School Hours.
VII Rules for the Chaplain.
VIII Rules respecting the Hours of Rising in Morning, Meals, Prayers & Going to Bed.
IX Rules for the Visitation of the Hospital.

The Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society was founded in 1841. It grew out of a meeting held to aid China, at which "'the University, the clergy, the medical profession, the merchants and bankers of the city were all represented.'" A Committee was formed and it convened a public meeting to found what was then called the Edinburgh Association for Sending Medical Aid to Foreign Countries. It was not until two years later that the Association took on the name, the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society.[45] Most of its work was directed abroad, but it did a little at home. By 1854 it had opened a new mission in Jerusalem while by that year it had already been doing "good work" in Calcutta. At home the Society acted as a Missionary Dispensary and as a hospital for the Irish poor. In fact its help for the Irish poor was, it claimed, the first of its kind established in Scotland - and as many as 250 applied for advice within the first six months of its opening.[46] These three societies, then, were primarily set up to deal with specific medical problems. Again they are examples of solutions being found within civil society to the needs of the disadvantaged.

The 'problem' of the Irish in Edinburgh is a convenient point to pause, for it is a boundary issue between those societies which were philanthropic in nature and those societies, to be discussed below, which were sectarian pressure groups. For the moment it is useful to summarize briefly the findings of this sub-section. It was seen, firstly, that certain societies, classified as 'industrious and improvement' societies, were concerned with the educational improvement and moral respectability of those who came seeking help. Such societies were also seen to provide an exchange of goods and services in return for a charitable donation or subscription or legacy. Secondly and thirdly, societies were characterised, respectively, as 'area' and 'clan' societies. Such societies were philanthropic only towards, again respectively, either a specified area or to those bearing any derivation of a chosen name. The bulk of their

financial support came from former residents of the chosen area or from those under the Clan name. The fourth characteristic we have identified has been the 'hospital' charity which employed the use of statistics to argue their case for financial support. Such 'hospital' societies were also identified as being directly interventionist in ideology, although their fund raising appeals remained firmly rooted within civil society.

It is now time to diverge slightly from the conventions of the Almanac and leave those societies encompassed within the title 'Benevolent and Charitable' and briefly consider some of those societies who tackled the 'Irish problem' in a non-benevolent way. Rather than treat this 'problem' as one of poverty, a number of societies appeared which turned the issue into a sectarian one.

(e) Societies engaged with the 'Irish problem'

At the same time as there existed in Scotland help for the Irish poor, there was also a multitude of anti-Catholic societies, the main direction of their ire being the Irish. The Mission for the Conversion of Irish Romanists, was supported by all denominations, but was run by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh.[47] The Edinburgh Irish Mission and Protestant Institute was founded in 1842 "by a Committee of zealous Christians, at a time when Protestantism was scarcely awake..."[48] This society was in the business of whipping up as much anti-Catholic/anti-Irish feeling as it could, and it used some very emotive language :

> "By means of Ireland's terrorism, clothed in a British Constitution, it has assailed our Legislature, brow-beaten our Government, and extorted from our bewildered and embarrassed statesmen, concessions, revenues, and patronage, and repaid them with scorn, disaffection. and insolent defiance. Another and secret column of attack has undermined the walls of the English Established Church, and by means of Oxford, has poured down on an unguarded country a perfect blood of Jesuits.
>
> Churches, colleges and nunneries rise up in Protestant Scotland, we know not how; Jesuits and priests glide into our drawing rooms, we know not whence; and though we are occasionally startled by the perversion of Protestants in the better ranks of society, we go to rest again in a frame of spurious liberality, which will be compliant towards intolerance, provided it be sincere, and liberally regardless of the cause of Christ and truth, because we happen to call it our own.
>
> Arise, Protestants, arise!
>
> We know the evils of Popery, that oft threatens our liberties, drains our resources, and sits like an incubus upon our national prosperity. Let us rise, then, and do something worthy of the cause - something for

> Protestantism - something for liberty - something for civilisation - something for national independence and national prosperity, for this is not one cause but many! It is emphatically the cause of the age in which we live, and the country in which we dwell."[49]

It can be seen, therefore, that the Edinburgh Irish Mission and Protestant Institute had little doubt that there was a threat to the Protestant faith and that it knew from whom that threat came. Both campaigned through the published pamphlet in order to try and dominate the political agenda. A more considered society, with a wider remit, but with similar fears was the Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors. The object of this particular Association was not merely anti-popery, it was against anything it perceived as anti-Christian. It was against superstition, infidelity, Pantheism, supernaturalism and socialism. Its formation in 1845 was also hoped to counter the Tractarian party in the Church of England.[50] Its function was the "circulation of works already existing, and employing other kindred measures, to counteract the efforts which may be made for the diffusion of error."[51]

These societies can be seen to be sectarian, grown out of the perceived social problems caused by the influx of Irish settlers into Scotland. The important point to note for our purposes is that, once again, the expression of this sectarian pressure was channelled through associations within Edinburgh's civil society. As with those who perceived the 'Irish problem' as one of poverty, the mechanisms of dispute or of appeal are the same. By returning once more to the direct guidance of the Almanac and considering the final identifiable sub-section, 'down at luck' institutions, we can identify one final characteristic - the voluntary society filling the perceived gaps of inadequate parliamentary legislation.

(f) "Down at Luck" Institutions

Certain charities and homes were set up to address specifically a need left unattended, or even created, by state legislation. One such charity was the House of Refuge for the Destitute. Its origins stem from the attempts of the Board of Health to stop vagrants entering the city in a bid to halt the spread of cholera. This left a large population of the destitute homeless and, what is more, barred from the prospect of finding lodgings in Edinburgh. A Home was founded to provide a temporary residence, with food and clothing, until employment could be found elsewhere, or they could be sent back to their parishes. Those staying in the Home would be taught certain trades, such as shoemaking, tinmaking, bookbinding and tailoring, while their

children were placed under a master and taught reading and writing, with the females being instructed in sewing and knitting.[52] All the education and the instruction acted upon the principles on religion and virtue. As always, charity was never free.

This final short example from the section on 'Benevolent and Charitable' institutions, where a society was set up to administer Edinburgh's civil society after state legislation had created problems, completes this survey of the dominant characteristics of philanthropic societies. Together they reveal the range of concerns and issues dealt with at the level of civil society. Drunkenness and missionary work from the 'religious' section; from the section on 'benevolent and charitable institutions', blindness, lunacy, poverty, homelessness, destitution, disease and educational disadvantage were all dealt with. Such are some examples of the range of social problems to which solutions were attempted by the voluntary sector. This is, to repeat, what is meant by governing civil society.

The remainder of this chapter will consider the other side of the structure of Edinburgh's civil society : the channelling of status claims and cultural power through chosen activity careers in public life.

PART TWO

CULTURAL & STATUS VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES

In the first part of this chapter the range, structure and tactics of middle class voluntary societies, as they administered civil society, was delineated. In this second section, the analysis falls on the middle class itself - the societies, clubs and associations central to class formation.

(III) "Section III Educational Establishments"

Section III of the Almanac, is entitled 'Educational Establishments'. This section is of course dominated by the University of Edinburgh. The Almanac lists the University's professors and subjects. Also listed is the curicula of the various schools in the city. This section, however, need not detain us further. The public activities of ex-pupils and of the University are picked up in the following sections. Our focus now shifts to scientific and literary societies, the range of which is presented in Appendix 6

(IV) "Section IV Scientific and Literary Societies."

Typical of the middle classes in other large towns and cities of mid-nineteenth century Britain, the Edinburgh bourgeoisie formed a series of literary, philosophical and debating clubs. John Seed, in his examination of Manchester, identifies the local Literary and Philosophical Society - "a platform for intellectual liberal debate with a strong scientific stress" - as a central focus of the Unitarian elite in the 1820s and 1830s.[53] These were sources of status battles as much as cultural or recreational activities. One of the most prominent of such societies in Edinburgh was the Philosophical Institution.

(i) The Philosophical Institution

The Edinburgh Philosophical Institution was founded in 1846 following a meeting the previous year by the directors and members of the then defunct Edinburgh Philosophical Association, which had been formed in 1832.[54] There was expressed a want for a popular literary, scientific and educational institution in Edinburgh. The Institution was formed and by the beginning of August of 1846, upwards of 1000 subscribers had been secured. The Institution acquired premises for temporary use at 54 Hanover Street, but soon moved to 4 Queen Street. When the session commenced

in March, the annual subscriptions were 21/- for gentleman and 15/- for ladies. Life tickets were £10 and £7 respectively, and seven year tickets were £5 and £3 10/-; there were also quarterly subscriptions and separate charges to non-members for the lecture course alone. The Institution was proud of its Library which contained over 1000 volumes, over half of which had been donated by T. B. Macaulay, Francis Jeffrey and other supporters. By the session 1853-1854 the Library contained nearly 7000 volumes, immediately to rise to 9000 by the next session following another gift from Macaulay. The rules and regulations of the Reading Room and the titles of available periodicals are reproduced in Figure 6.7 while the rules, regulations and the titles of available newspapers from around the world are reproduced in figure 6.8.[55]

The programme for the session 1857-58, for example, combined a lecture by Professor W. E. Aytoun on 'The Ballad Poetry of Scotland', with Simpson's 'Great Britain as a Roman Colony', while the undoubted highlight of that year was the visit of Charles Dickens. The syllabus was, on the whole, British or international in subject matter. What treatment Scotland did receive was as part of European-wide education. One was just as likely to have been lectured on Italian peasants as on the ballads and poetry of Scotland. Music tended to be the strongest focus for all things Scottish, but again, usually within a British context. Thus, for example, in the series of lectures by Charles Mackay, lecture III was on "The Popular and Historical Songs of England", while lecture IV gave the same treatment to Scotland.

A fuller analysis of the membership of the Philosophical Institution is carried out in the next chapter. For the moment it is merely pertinent to understand that the Institution was one of a number of societies, exclusive in membership, high in status, and all important to the networks of power in mid-century Edinburgh. Similar routes to both obtaining and maintaining high status were the various debating clubs which, although each was small in size, abounded in Edinburgh.

Figure 6.7

THE LIBRARY READING ROOM

THE READING ROOM is open every day, from half past 9 a.m. till half past 9 p.m. The newest works selected for the library, and the latest publications of the following periodicals are always on the tables. A collection of valuable Books of Reference, consisting of the Encyclopædias, Dictionaries, Atlases, etc., is open to the Members. The Periodicals and the New Works are give out by ballot every evening at 9 o'clock.

Weekly

Athenæum
Builder - Critic
Chamber's Journal
Illustrated London News
Illustrated Times
Lancet
Literary Gazette
Medical Times & Gazette
Punch
Rayne des Deux Mondes

Monthly

Annals de Chimie et de Physique
Annals of Natural History
Army List
Art Journal
Banker's Magazine
Bentley's Miscellany
Blackwood's Magazine
Christian Witness
Civil Engineer and-
Architect's Journal.

Monthly - continued

Dublin University Magazine
Eclectic Review
Evangelical Magazine
Fraser's Magazine
Herald Of Peace
Household Words
Journal Of Jurisprudence
London Journal Of Arts
Mechanic's Magazine
New Monthly Magazine
Notes & Queries
Philosophical Magazine
Photographic Journal
Railway Timetables
Repertory of Inventions
Scottish Jurist
Scottish Congregational-
Magazine
Scottish Educational Journal
Sharp's London Magazine
Tait's Magazine
Titan
United Presbyterian Magazine
United Services Journal

Quarterly

British Quarterly Review
British & Foreign Medico-
Chirurgical Review
Calcutta Review
Christian Remembrancer
Dublin Review
Edinburgh Medical Journal
Edinburgh Philosophical Journal
Edinburgh Review
Journal of Classical & Sacred
Philology
Journal of Homœpathy
National Review
Navy List
North American Review
North British Review
Quarterly Journal of Agriculture
Quarterly Journal of the-
Geological Society
Quarterly Review
Scottish Review
Silliman's American
Journal of-
Science and Arts

Yearly and otherwise : - The British Almanac, Dod's British Peerage, The Edinburgh Almanac, East India Register, Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Year Book of Facts, Directories (Edinburgh, Glasgow, London, and Slator's), Astronomical Observations at the Edinburgh Royal Observatory, Reports of the British Association.

Figure 6.8

The Library

THE LIBRARY FOR CIRCULATION, to which important additions are made every month, consists of a valuable and extensive selection of Books (upwards of 11, 000 volumes) in every department of Literature and Science, and is open for lending and returning Books, every day from half-past 9 a.m. till half-past 9 p.m. except on Saturdays, when it is closed for lending at half past 8 p.m.; and on Tuesdays and Fridays *during the lecture season*, when it is closed for lending at 8 p.m.

The News Room

The News Room is open every lawful day from 8 a.m. till 10 p.m. and is supplied several times during the day, with the earliest TELEGRAPHIC INTELLIGENCE of every event of public importance, the state of the Funds, Prices of Shares, Market Reports, Arrivals of Overland Mails, etc. The London Papers of the Morning are received by EXPRESS on the *Evening of their publication.* The Room is supplied with the following Papers : -

Edinburgh Papers

Advertiser
Caledonian Mercury
Courant
Evening Post
Daily Express
*Gazette
Ladies' Journal
Leith Commercial List
News
*North British Advertiser
North British Agriculturalist
North British Daily Mail
North Briton
*Scotsman (Daily)
Scotsman (Bi-weekly)
Scottish Press
Scottish Railway Gazette
Scotch Thistle
Witness

London Daily Papers

Daily News
Morning Advertiser
Morning Chronicle
Morning Herald
Globe
Shipping & Mercantile Gazette
Standard
Sun
*Times

London Weekly Etc., Papers

Melbourne Argus Atlas
Australian & Zetland Gazette
Oxford University Herald

London Papers - continued

Bell's Life in London
Civil Service Gazette
*Economist
Era
*Examiner
Field
Gardener's Chronicle
Guardian
Herapath's Railway Jour.
Homeward Mail
Illustrated London News
Illustrated Times
Leader
Mark-Lane Express
Mining Journal
Naval & Military Gazette
Nonconformist
Observer
Patriot Press
Punch
Railway Times

Record
*Spectator
Watchman
Weekly Dispatch

English Provincial Papers

Birmingham Journal
Cambridge Chronicle
Gateshead Observer
Leeds Mercury
Liverpool Albion
Liverpool (Gore's) Advertiser
Liverpool Mercury
Manchester Examiner
New York Herald

Glasgow and other Scottish provincial Papers

Glasgow Citizen
Glasgow Herald
Glasgow Gazette
Scottish Guardian
Aberdeen Herald
Aberdeen Journal
Ayr Advertiser
Banffshire Journal
Dumfries Courier
Dundee Advertiser
Elgin Courant
Fifeshire Journal
Greenock Advertiser
Inverness Courier
John O'Groat Journal
Kelso Chronicle
Montrose Review
Perthshire Advertiser
Stirling Journal

Irish papers

Belfast Northern Wig
Dublin Evening Mail
Dublin Evening Post
General Advertiser
Nation
Tablet

Foreign & Colonial
Allgemeine Zeitung
Journal des Débats
L'Illustration Française

Montreal Gazette
China Mail

Of the more important of these Papers, several copies are received. In all, they form an average supply of *one hundred and twenty sheets* daily. *Those marked * are filed.

Institution Rooms, 4 Queen Street, HENRY BOWIE, *Secretary, October* 1858

(ii) The Debating Societies

The philosophical Institute was a perfect example of an elite institution where the middle class came together as a class. Similarly, a strong feature of Edinburgh's polite society was the range of debating societies which existed. Membership of these societies were exclusive, and the following description of their structure will prepare the groundwork for a full analysis of their importance within Edinburgh's status networks, which is the purpose of chapter seven.

The Speculative Society, a debating club, owed much of its success to the help it received from Henry Cockburn, later Lord Advocate, and the renowned librarian of the Signet Library, David Laing. Its admission of members was very limited, strangers were very definitely excluded; compulsory attendance and fulfilment of duty were very early conditions. Explicitly this society was not a political club - an essay was read and debate was confined to "academical exercise and speculations". Sir Walter Scott was Secretary between 1791 and 1795, and Robert Louis Stevenson was later to be a member; and although its numbers were already small by 1841, it always claimed to produce many eminent men. [56]

The Juridical Society was instituted in 1773 and was composed exclusively of young men in training for, or already belonging to, one of the branches of the legal profession :

> "Petitions for admission shall be received only from Advocates, or gentlemen studying for the bar, Writers to the Signet, or those who are or have been apprentices of Writers to the Signet."[57]

It was a debating society on legal issues, except for every third week when a non-legal matter was on the agenda. The society had sufficient funds to own its hall and library and its meetings were strictly private.[58]

The Scots Law Society, instituted in 1815 was another devoted to the discussion of "legal and literary questions." The Royal Physical Society debated the cultivation of Physical Sciences, and rose from the union in 1782 of the Medico-Chirurgical and the Physico-Chirurgico Society. The Dialectic Society, instituted in 1787, "meets every Saturday during winter for the prosecution of literary and philosophical composition, curriculum and debate." The Hunterian Society was instituted in 1826, and had basically the same objects and constitution as the Royal Physical Society. In 1833 the

five societies last named were united as The Associated Societies of the University of Edinburgh.[59]

These societies were part of mid-Victorian middle class elite culture. The high value of literary pursuits was fundamental to successful membership of the middle class.[60] This literary culture was also part of the 'bibliographical mania' and this has been regarded by one author as a vital ingredient of Scottish society's self-image.[61] A similar cultural strand can be identified in the growth of subscription libraries.

(iii) Edinburgh's Subscription Libraries

The Edinburgh Select Subscription Library held its first meeting on the evening of Friday, 21st March 1800. It did not appeal for public subscription, but instead opted to be self-financed by its members. By this course the Library could remain exclusive. The membership of the Library by the end of 1801 was only fifty. This exlusivity did, however, prove too expensive to maintain. To keep down costs and to keep the Library in operation, the members were forced over the following decades to offer regular share issues for new members to take up. Figure 6.9 below details the membership figures for the years 1837 to 1841.

Figure 6.9
Membership of Edinburgh Subscription Library[62]

Year	Membership Nos.
1837	541
1838	573
1839	585
1840	595
1841	593

A quite different subscription library was formed under the title of the Edinburgh Mechanics' Subscription Library. Unlike the Select Subscription Library, which was run by members of the legal profession and accountants, with the occasional upholsterer and engraver thrown in, the Mechanics' version was run by a mixture of artisans and members of the petty bourgeoisie. This latter point can be seen by looking at the occupational titles of the office bearers of the society in a selected year, 1858-59.

Figure 6.10

Office Bearers of the Edinburgh Mechanics Subscription Library, 1858-59[63]

President : Wm. Ross, Printer
Vice-President : James Keppie, Printer
Treasurer : James L. Maxwell, Clerk
Secretary : Henry Ranken, Upholsterer

Committee :

Alexander Aitken, Clerk	Peter Anderson, Tailor
Robert Allan, Clerk	Robert Beaton, Clerk
Alexander Brodie, Collector	Peter Campbell, Bookbinder
William Bryce, House Agent	David Cotlam, Printer
Dr. Cochrane	John Johnston, Teacher
David Croall, Reporter	Alexander Kerr, Printer
David Fisher, Printer	James Morton, Teacher
James Glasgow, Umbrella Maker	John Stevenson, Bookseller

Auditors : John Maxwell, John Blair, John Morrison
Librarian : John Low.

The society actually states that there is no law in the Library's constitution which requires that the greater portion of the its managers should be mechanics - "yet it may be confidently affirmed, that during the whole of its history the greater portion of those who have directed its movements have either been mechanics, or very slightly raised above them in the social scale."[64] This society was also self supporting, charging five shillings for entry money and 1/6 of quarterly contribution, a rate fixed at the formation of the Library in 1825 and still in force in 1859.

The state of the Society's book circulation can be seen in Figure 6.11 below :

Figure 6.11[65]

State of Circulation, 4th December 1858

444	Members had out	novels	652 volumes held
112	Members had out	voyages & travels	152 volumes held
106	Members had out	biography	145 volumes held
103	Members had out	history	139 volumes held
112	Members had out	arts & sciences	132 volumes held
76	Members had out	miscellaneous	100 volumes held
67	Members had out	theology	87 volumes held
65	Members had out	poetry & drama	80 volumes held
55	Members had out	periodicals	60 volumes held
34	Members had out	essays & letters	43 volumes held
26	Members had out	geography & statistics	33 volumes held
6	Members had out	pamphlets	7 volumes held
7	Members had out	law	7 volumes held

Total : 1637

Both societies aimed to be self-supporting and to be as limited in their membership, as exclusive, as they could afford. This charge for exclusiveness fits with ideas of status affirmation. It also fits with the Victorian usage of the concept of 'industriousness'

and self-help - that one makes 'learning' and 'improvement' one's pastime. The search for knowledge and how it can help one advance in life and also impact on society in general was present amongst those who were members of the Phrenological Association.

The Phrenological Association was one of the those fascinating Victorian societies which, in a pseudo scientific manner, tried to graft the biological sciences onto the morality of the human race. In this it was very close in ideology to the Eugenics movement which was especially prominent at this time.[66] The Society was set up specifically to promote the study of the cranium wherever possible. A whiff of the use of phrenology as a guiding principle for the conduct of one's life can be gauged from a letter written by one George Combe to the Society, which it then published :

> "In short, the applications of Phrenology are boundless; and if your association will first *learn* Phrenology in its full dimension, as the philosophy of the brain and the philosophy of mind, and then apply it to expand their own intellect, improve their moral sentiments, and promote human welfare, every member in his own sphere and according to his own opportunities, your labours will provide high gratifications, and you will find the day far distant when your interest and progress will cease."[67]

The Phrenological Association's acceptance and display of skulls was a matter of great pride.[68] The belief that much information could be gleaned from an exploration of the cranium was a common one throughout most of the nineteenth century. When Sir Walter Scott died in 1832 his skull was opened up. Inside they found a large brain, as expected of one so renowned. In addition his brain was discovered "to be in a soft state, and there were globules of water under the left lobe."[69] This was also expected as it had been diagnosed that Scott had died of water on the brain. The search for the expected evidence of success, Scott's overly-large brain, was indicative of much bourgeois thinking on the distribution of the classes in the mid-Victorian social structure.[69A] A little bit of knowledge, perhaps gleaned from the Edinburgh Select Subscription Library, could go along way to sustaining what are largely spurious empirical measurements of society. The use made of statistics by hospital charities for sustaining support has already been discussed in part one of this chapter. One society which is perhaps in-between such hospital societies and the Phrenological Society in the using statistics as a tactic is the Medico-Statistical Society.

Like the Phrenological Society, but perhaps less controversially, the Medico-Statistical Association sprung up from the mid-Victorian's fascination with empiricism. It is likely that this Association's lead came from Chadwick's use of statistics to argue the

need for public health reform.[70] In its first report the Medico-Statistical Association stated that its aims were : "to attribute more precise causes of death than supplied by the Registrar General."[71] A group of twenty three doctors, including Dr. Alison and Dr. Begbie, put their names to this report which included a detailed discussion on causes of death. It can be suggested that this society is another example of dissatisfaction with the function of central government, leading to the middle classes of Edinburgh setting up their own Association to carry out the functional requirements deemed necessary for successful health care in Scotland.

A different sort of society, less concerned with Scotland's poor than the prospects of the children of the middle class, was the High School Club. The Club was instituted in 1849 with the object being, generally, "to promote the interests of the High School, to maintain a good understanding, and form a bond of union among the former pupils of that institution."[72] Like the Clan Gregor Society, it wanted to set up bursaries to allow talented children to attend the school and to reward scholarship with prizes. By this means it was also a route for former pupils to make contact with new pupils and with their own contemporaries. It was, then, the focus of an "old school tie" network - and this is the important point which makes the Club a feature in this analysis of Edinburgh's civil society.

The High School Club was not the only occasion for those who have prospered within the middle class of Edinburgh to look after their own. There was also the Signet Club, which consisted of about 20 'friends' of whom all were members of the Society to His Majesty's Signet. It was formed in 1780 and was, in effect, an elite social club. In terms of its function, it was little more than a structured dinner club. An extract from the minutes of 23rd November, 1844 provides a flavour of the Club's concerns :

> "It was moved by Mr. Wm. Mackenzie, and agreed to, that Cockieleekie with prunes should be a standing dish at the November meetings."[73]

Although a mere dinner club, the Signet Club was an occasion where like minded members of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie would come together to exchange information, ideas and trade and an occasion to make contacts. For a member of the elite, to be part of the clique signalled one's arrival to a position of power. Access to the 'inner-circles' of elite activity was central to the maintenance of status in the everyday life of the Edinburgh bourgeois.

The Academy Bar List straddled the Signet and the High School Clubs in its role. It published the biographical details of "...the names of all old Academy boys who have come to the Bar, or who have practiced at it, in England, Scotland, Ireland, India, and the Colonies."[74] The Bar List and the Signet Club were cliques within the legal profession. The High School Club was like the Clan-Gregor society in that it aimed to fund bursaries to allow talented but disadvantaged children to attend the school. However the High School Club had the function also of an 'old school tie' network. It acted as a focus for former pupils to reunite to exchange information, ideas and trade and to make contacts. These Clubs are just three of the 'inner circles' of elite activity of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie in and around 1854. The Royal Society of Edinburgh, the 'Bibliographical Clubs', and the New Club, all Clubs *par excellence* of Edinburgh's 'inner circle', and have a membership which is not based on a single qualification (like attending the High School), but have this wider importance which will be discussed in the next chapter.

(V) "Section VI : Commercial Institutions"

The final sub-section delineated in the Almanac concerned Edinburgh's commercial world. This section included information on the banks and financial institutions which were such a part of Edinburgh's economy, but this section also listed specific membership societies, as Appendix 6 shows. One of the most prominent was the Scottish Trade Protection Society.

The Scottish Trade Protection Society, formed in 1853, had as its aim "to protect the honest trader from the fraudulent efforts of those who went about 'seeking whom they might devour.'"[75] This society forged information links between Scotland and England so to aide security of traders in cross-border transactions of goods, and especially, of credit. In its first year of operation the society had a membership of 180, by February 1854 its membership stood at 760. To its members it distributed, for 1854, a document containing 1500 entries of companies containing a synopsis of their credit worthiness. Also distributed was a 'legal proceedings book' where a trader could see of another "if a judgement had been got; if the debt had been paid promptly or in instalments, or paid at all; and whether the party had been prosecuted once, twice or thrice."[76] It was claimed that with this information, for the guinea a member invested in joining this society, they might expect to save £50.

This society acted as a control mechanism on the commercial activities of the Edinburgh middle class. It was a regulator of trading activities. With this knowledge,

a link can be postulated between credit worthiness and social acceptance within Edinburgh's 'inner-circles'. It was part of a process whereby social power within Edinburgh's civil society was 'managed' through the regulatory mechanisms of certain societies and associations. The hierarchies of influence which structured the public life of Edinburgh can be seen to have had their day-to-day influence in the membership content between associations and the membership structure within associations

Conclusion

From this survey of some of the most prominent voluntary and cultural societies operating in mid-century Edinburgh, a number of definitional features have been identified. The first point, which provides the structural split in this chapter, is that the associational activity of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie can be divided into, firstly, voluntary societies which were philanthropic in objective, and, secondly, those which existed as cultural power and status channels. Next, when the philanthropic societies were examined, it was demonstrated that for those institutions categorised as 'Religious', they too could be split up into those which were religious proselytisers and those whose aims were 'missionary' in outlook. From an examination of the Temperance movement it was possible to highlight the structure of a typical voluntary society, showing a governing body which was a status hierarchy inversely related to the day-to-day activities of running the society. From this basis it made it possible to demonstrate the range of resources mobilised by philanthropic societies both to carry out their work and to raise subscriptions and donations. These resources were identified as : (a) the visit; (b) the lecture and the school; (c) the published tract; and (d) the use of statistics. When the spotlight fell on 'Benevolent and Charitable Institutions' it was then possible to complete our characterisation of philanthropic societies. It was argued that six varieties of benevolent and charitable institutions were generalizable.

(1) 'Industrial and improvement societies' - laced with the morality of providing a 'proper' education they tried to manufacture goods to exchange for financial support.

(2) 'Area' Societies - such societies were set up to aid an identified area where poverty or educational disadvantage existed.

(3) 'Clan' Societies - With the similar aims to the 'area' societies, the only difference to the above was the qualification for help : surname replaced residence.

(4) 'Hospital Societies' - Two features were noticeable. The first is again the use of statistics to gather support; the second is the use of the terminology of 'intervention', but without reference to the state.

(5) 'The Irish problem' - Two types of society were identified : the first, the philanthropic providing Homes for the homeless and education for the young of the Irish poor; secondly, a number of sectarian societies were identified, operating at the level of civil society, aiming to create an anti-Irish culture.

(6) 'Down-at-luck Homes and Hospitals' - Such institutions were common and provided much relief for the destitute or those who, once 'respectable', have fallen on hard times. For our purposes the important feature identified was the existence of such societies to specifically address a gap left in, or actually caused by, the state.

The second part of this chapter concentrated on those societies which acted as power foci and status channels. Introduced were the Philosophical Institution, the debating clubs and the Select and the Mechanics' subscription libraries. These societies controlled the exclusiveness of their membership and were thus important to elite formation. The High School Club, the Signet Club and the Academy Bar List, the Scottish Trade Protection Society, equally, were part of an elite 'managing' its membership. Together these societies are examples of how the Edinburgh bourgeoisie was able to define its own class homogeneity to itself. Through its philanthropic actions, as outlined in the first part of this chapter, it was demonstrated just how the Edinburgh bourgeoisie exercised 'social control' on the working class. This was the focal point of the battle for hegemonic control in mid-Victorian Edinburgh. Philanthropic intervention was a prime site for inter-class relations. By contrast, and to complete this part of the story, the type of cultural manifestations described in the latter half of the chapter are the points of conflict within the middle class itself. The next chapter will now analyse more detail the structure of the subscriber activity of Edinburgh's middle class elite.

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Chapter Seven
What Class the Middle Class?
Edinburgh's Subscriber Population

(I) The Middle Class Subscribers : the most active

The previous chapter presented the range of middle class voluntary activity in the 1830-1860 period. It was demonstrated that the middle classes were engaged in a whole range of issues, problems and causes. It was postulated that this activity, because of its pervasiveness, could be usefully equated to the actions of a legislature. The middle classes of Edinburgh had available to them the machinery to deal with almost any issue, at the level of civil society, without recourse to the parliamentary state. Also argued was the importance of this voluntary activity to middle class identity within itself and in opposition to, especially, the working class. To this end it was suggested that there existed an 'inner elite' within Edinburgh's middle class which acted as a social, political and cultural vanguard. The purpose of this chapter is to test the extent of the hypothesis that Edinburgh was an elite-led middle class.

Unique name record linkage was carried out between the seven sub-sections of the 1854 Edinburgh Almanac and the 1852/4 Pollbook, following the methodological conventions explained in chapter four.[1] From this survey, 4037 named individuals were identified as being connected to at least one society or association. Through this exercise it is now possible to gauge the level of activity within Edinburgh's middle class subscriber population. This chapter also has the purpose of explaining the societal power of the middle class as it was channelled through the forms of associational action described in the previous chapter. This chapter is therefore an attempt to identify the trends of middle class network association. Obviously this cannot include all associations, all networks, as such a task would necessitate a different and dedicated research topic. The resource budget of this project precluded linkage *across* the seven subsections of the Almanac, and instead only linkage *between* the subsections and the pollbook was carried out. To compensate, and to try and reflect the range of subscriber action, lists of memberships from societies not included in the Almanac of 1854, have been included. Even with this addition, however, the figures presented throughout this chapter can only be underestimates of the

level of potential interlinkage. With that being said, by looking at table 7.1 it can be seen that the degree of subscriber activity by those who were linked from the Almanac to the pollbook was startling.

Table 7.1
Frequency of Appearance in 'Public Life', Edinburgh Almanac-Pollbook (c.1854)

Appearances	N
34	1
24	1
17	2
16	1
15	1
14	1
13	3
12	7
11	7
10	6
9	11
8	20
7	39
6	28
5	63
4	93
3	248
2	689
1	2816
Total	4037

Even when only linkage between the seven subsections of the Almanac and the pollbook is included, it can be seen that the top end of subscriber activity is verging on the prolific, with one subscriber recorded 34 times. Of the most active, thirty individuals were identified as appearing in ten or more lists, in comparison with the vast majority who appeared only once. It is useful to compare this result with the study made by Morris of Leeds.[2] Morris calculated that 86% of the middle class population could be identified as appearing in three or fewer lists. Morris's table of appearances is, slightly adapted, presented below :

Table 7.2
Table of Appearances, Leeds 1830s

Appearances	N
14	1
10	2
9	5
8	4
7	7
6	9
5	25
4	28
3	52

2	99
1	332
Total	**564**

From tables 7.1 and 7.2 it can be calculated that over 90% of the subscriber population was active in fewer than three lists. Where there is perhaps the only difference between the two studies is their respective measurements of the most active. The top end of Morris's scale is 14, with 28 (4.96%) individuals identified as appearing in six or more lists. In Edinburgh the top of the scale reached 34, and appearance totals were recorded at 24, 17 (twice), 16 and 15. In addition, 128 individuals (3.14%) were identified as appearing in six or more lists. In percentage terms there is little difference between the two studies : the range of multiple associations in Edinburgh is due to the greater number of cases examined.

What is clear from the Edinburgh activity count is that certain individuals habitually appeared in a number of lists and therefore supported a number of causes. Table 7.3 names the thirty most active subscribers, those who appeared in ten or more lists :

Table 7.3
The Thirty Most Active Subscribers :
Number of Memberships & Name

34	Lord Provost				
24	Buccleuch & Queensberry		Duke of	K. G.	
17	Drummond	D. T. K.	Rev.	Epis	
17	Muir	William	Est.	D. D.	St Stephens
16	Grant	James	Est.	D. D.	
15	Murray		Lord		
14	McCrie	Thomas	Rev.	D. D., LL.D.	
13	Argyle		Duke of		
13	Hunter	John	Rev.	D. D.	Est.
13	Lord Advocate				
12	Candlish	R. S.	Rev.	D. D.	Free
12	Gibson-Graig	Wm.	Sir	Bart.	
12	Greville	Robert Kaye		C	LL.D.
12	Panmure		Lord		
12	Robertson	Wm.	Rev.	Est.	
12	Smyttan	George	Dr.		M. D.
12	Tawse	John W.	Esq.		
11	Breadalbane		Marq. of		

11	Cadell	George	Lieut. Col.		
11	Dalhousie		Marquess of		
11	Duncan	J. Mathews	Dr.		M. D.
11	Hay	Adam	Sir	Bart.	
11	Moncrieff	John Scott			
11	Pringle	Alexander	Esq.	VP	M.P.
10	Forbes	John Stuart	Sir	Bart.	
10	Grieve	R.			
10	Johnston	Geo	Rev.		
10	Roseberry	Earl of	K. T.		
10	Rutherfurd	A. Right	Hon.	Lord Rutherfurd	
10	Swinton	A. Campbell	Prof.		

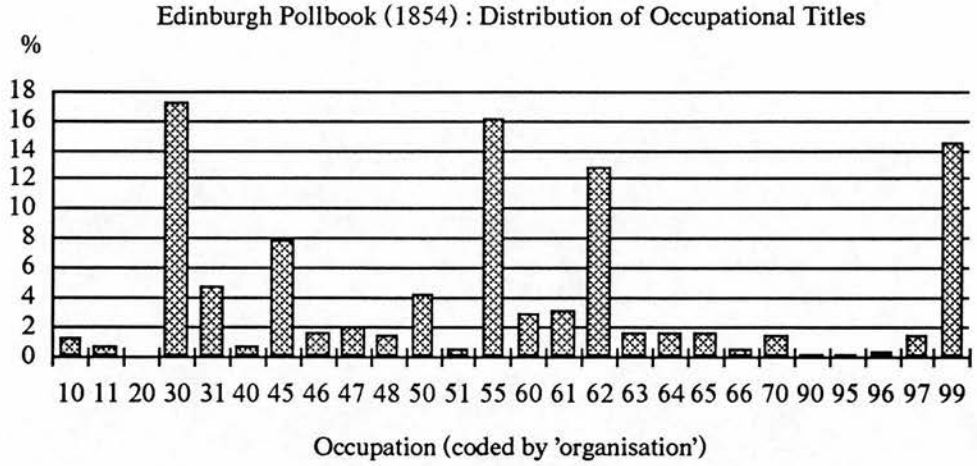
At the top end it is obvious that the Lord Provost, as patron, headed many societies because it was a duty of his office. Equally, the Duke of Buccleuch's role was predominantly that of figurehead. Therefore for both individuals subscription was not necessarily out of choice, but part of their social role, although nevertheless indicative of their potential for influence. The office of Lord Provost in particular was a tangible link between a number of different causes and issues in Edinburgh society. These, then, were positions of patronage, but if one examines the list, six out the next nine names are those of ministers of religion. This activity from the clergy of Edinburgh might be expected for a number of reasons. One of which is the historical role of the Established Church, and from 1843 the Free Church also, in the national affairs of Scotland. Patronage from the church was a necessary form of legitimacy for many campaigning societies. A second reason, as chapter six has demonstrated, was the sheer profusion of religious and missionary societies which reached the far corners of Edinburgh civil society. Callum Brown is the leading exponent of the argument in favour of the dominance of religiosity in nineteenth century Scotland, and the evidence of this study supports this view.[3] Generally, then, the evidence of the Almanac is that there existed a small active elite who were involved in most areas of Edinburgh's civil society, although the majority only subscribed once in any one of the sub-sections. With this understanding on board, and the acceptance of the dominance of the legal sector, craft, and distribution and processing, as the three most influential occupational groupings - as chapter five argued - then the next step, an analysis of this subscriber activity, can be taken. The remainder of this chapter will identity the dominant occupational and political

trends of subscriber activity in Edinburgh, and thus it will take us closer to understanding exactly how the middle class governed their society mid-century.

(II) Was there a Class Difference between the Associations?

The most active individuals represented in table 7.3 were at the head of what can be termed a 'subscriber class', that half of the pollbook population linked to the Almanac. The purpose of this section is to examine this 'subscriber class' and to discover whether there was an occupational difference between the societies and associations subscribed to. In chapter four the occupational distribution was presented of those recorded in the Edinburgh pollbook for the 1852 general election. This frequency count, coded in terms of the organisation the paid employment was located in, is shown in figure 7.1 below.

Figure 7.1



Occupation coded by 'Organisation'			
10	Land	60	Professional (general)
11	Gardeners	61	Medical
20	Quarries	62	Legal
30	Dist. & Processing	63	Religion
31	Dealers	64	Education
40	Transport	65	Misc. Services
45	Commerce	66	Printing & Publishing
46	Bankers	70	Construction
47	Agents & Travellers	90	Independent Income
48	Clerks & Bookkeepers	95	National Government
50	Manufacturing	96	Local Government
51	Managers & Employers	97	Defence
55	Craft	99	No Occupational Title

This table will act as the point of reference, the norm to which we contrast the subscriber class against the middle class as a whole. The 'subscriber class' refers to those who were successfully linked from the pollbook (7735 population) to at least one society or association listed in the Almanac, following the methodology of nominal record linkage explained in chapter four. This produced a subscriber population of 4037, just over half those recorded in the pollbook. The pollbook acts as the 'base' population and therefore only those entries successfully linked to this base fall within the methodological remit of this study. The pollbook population of 7735 is always the counterpoint to any subsequent analysis.

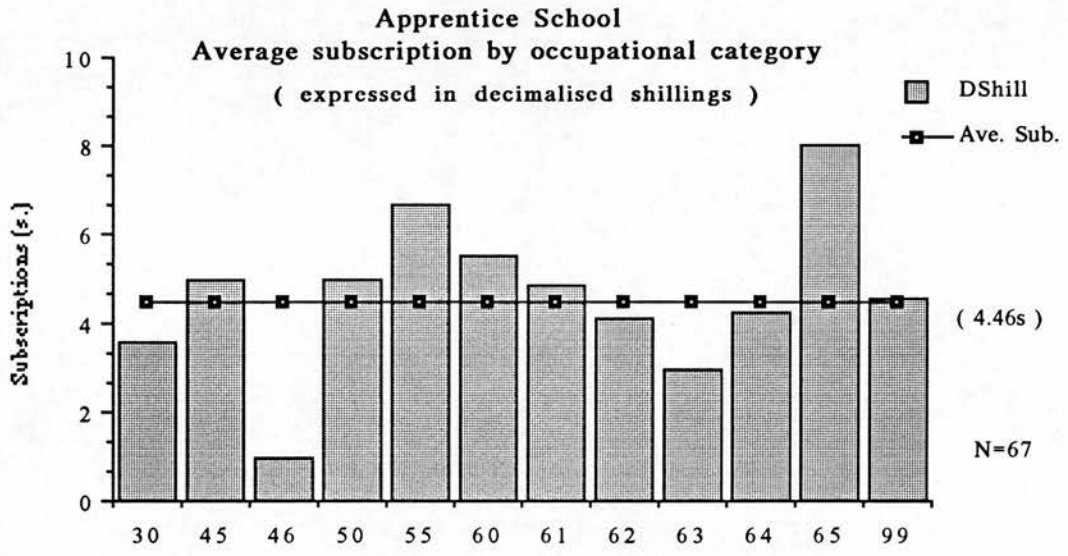
(a) An Occupational Profile of the Subscriber Population

It is perhaps no great presumption to suggest that the subscriber activity of the Edinburgh middle class was divided on class grounds. It has already been noted in the previous chapter that certain associations and certain subscriptions were more 'exclusive' than others. Some of the debating societies, for instance, were shown to be premised upon a strictly vetted membership, as indeed was the Select Subscription Library, with its battle to balance the books while maintaining a limited membership. The aim of this section is to explain in more detail the occupational profile of the subscriber class. One measure of 'how middle class' a society or association was can be taken from the degree of successful linkage possible to the pollbook. That is, if very few subscribers to an association c.1852 can be successfully linked to the pollbook, then that association has a very limited middle class membership. Two opposite examples of this are the subscription to the Edinburgh Apprentice School and the members of the Edinburgh New Club.

The objective of the Apprentice School Association was "to institute and superintend Evening Schools, in different locations in Edinburgh and Leith, for the purpose of affording to Shopmen, Workmen, Apprentices, etc., the means of acquiring a solid education."[4] This was not an unusual association and similar ones with identical objectives existed throughout Britain. It is also not untypical in the sense that it was what can be termed a 'low subscription' association. It did not solicit, nor did it receive, relatively large subscriptions and donations. A subscription of only 5s was enough to gain 'entitlement to attend and engage in the business of the General meetings'. Figure 7.2 below compares the average subscription of each occupational category with the overall average for the year 1848. To allow the computer to handle pounds, shillings and

pence - the problem being 20 shillings to the pound and 12 pence to the shilling - it was decided to express all monetary values in terms of decimalised shillings. Thus an example of a subscription of 2 shillings and 6 pence was converted to 2.5 shillings and so forth. To smooth the discussion of the results presented in the tables it has been decided to refer to decimalised shillings at all times. A simple conversion rubric is offered in Appendix 7 for those still uneasy with decimalised currency.

Figure 7.2



Occupation coded by 'Organisation'			
30	Dist. & Processing	61	Medical
45	Commerce	62	Legal
46	Bankers	63	Religion
50	Manufacturing	64	Education
55	Craft	65	Misc. Services
60	Professional	99	No Occ. Title

See Appendix 9 for explanation of achieved linkage.

Out of the 183 subscribers for 1848, only 67 were successfully linked to the pollbook. In part, the four year time difference between the two sources explains some of the gap, but overwhelmingly the cause of so many failed linkages is the low status of the Apprentice School subscribers. Simply put, many of its subscribers were not franchised and would not then appear in the pollbook.

The Apprentice School did have the Lord Provost as its honorary president, and like many associations it invited ministers from a range of religious denominations to be

extraordinary directors so to encourage 'much variation in religion of those enroled'. However, with 473 pupils enroled for 1848 and only 183 subscribers that year providing an average subscription of 4.46s., it is unsurprising that the society reported an increase in its debts. It was very reliant on appeals to the merchants and tradesmen of Edinburgh for help and it can be seen that the legal profession was below the average. (Although the small numbers involved makes discussion of the occupational categories very tentative). This indeed was a low subscription society and therefore marginal to middle class concerns.

A different type of society was the New Club, a very exclusive social club. It was instituted in 1787, and although there is no actual record of how the Club originated, its fore-runner was the Poker Club of 1762.[5] From the analysis carried out on the membership of the New Club, only 90 out of the 774 who subscribed in 1847, were successfully linked. Of those linked just under half were classified as having no vote and just under one third had no occupational title,[6] The New Club was a society for the county elite of Lothian, its urban membership was always less important. Its members were admitted by a ballot held on the second Wednesday in the months of January through to June. The proposer and seconder of any new additions must already be members of the club, must personally know the applicant, and to be successful more that thirty voters must be in favour, with more than one black ball in ten leading to rejection.[7] The membership was increased only to alleviate debt, as in 1852 when an additional fifty members arrived following the failure the previous year to raise money by reducing the costs of the servant's board and the selling of the contents of the wine cellar.[8] The New Club tried to model itself, in particular its coffee room and its dinners, on the best London Clubs. It had an appeal to those serving abroad, especially for the East India Company or those in the forces. To specifically attract this type of member the 'Supernumerary List' was expanded in 1851 to which "a very large number of members who were absent from the United Kingdom availed themselves."[9] The focus of the new Club's membership was not Edinburgh's citizens, but was instead a Club for those of eminent status when 'in town'. Most of its members, therefore, lacked the municipal franchise and were not part of the urban bourgeoisie.

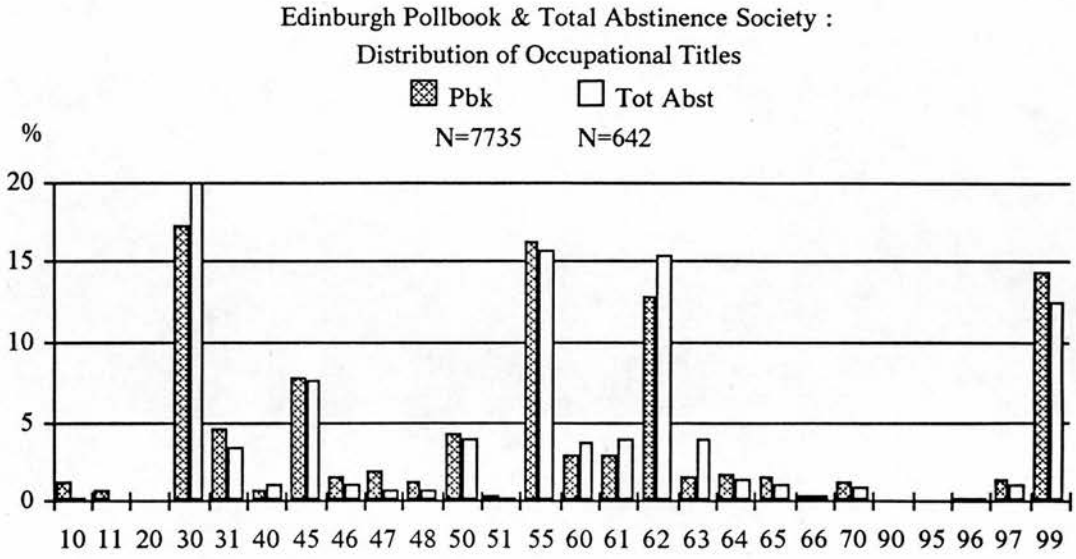
In both cases, for different reasons, the New Club and the Apprentice School Association were not central to middle class subscription activity. On the one hand, the Apprentice

Schools, although with the Lord Provost as patron, lacked the appeal to attract great financial support from the middle classes - it indeed was a low subscription society. On the other hand there was the New Club, which although a prime focus of networking, so vital to the construction of the self, was irrelevant to bourgeois concerns. For the Edinburgh middle class there was the Royal Institution and its off-shoots the Royal Society Club, the Royal Society New Club and the Royal Society Supper Club, which acted as foci of networking.[10] Both the Apprentice School and the New Club, then, were in some ways tangential to middle class civil society, but together they serve the purpose of setting the outer boundaries of this action. The Apprentice School was an example of the lower limits of respectable middle class subscriber action, the New Club as one of the outer limits of middle class associations.

(b) The Subscriber Class - mainstream activity

The question now is, in terms off occupation, how were the mainstream middle class societies characterised? How should the societies that the middle class were especially involved in, and which were central to their administration of mid-century society, be defined? The first feature of this mainstream subscription activity was the society that replicated the occupational profile of the middle class, the society that transcended occupational interest. Such a society was the Total Abstinence Society, and it can be seen from figure 7.3 below that its occupational profile was, for the year 1853, in percentage terms fairly close to that of the pollbook.[11]

Figure 7.3



Occupation coded by 'Organisation'			
10	Land	60	Professional (general)
11	Gardeners	61	Medical
20	Quarries	62	Legal
30	Dist. & Processing	63	Religion
31	Dealers	64	Education
40	Transport	65	Misc. Services
45	Commerce	66	Printing & Publishing
46	Bankers	70	Construction
47	Agents & Travellers	90	Independent Income
48	Clerks & Bookkeepers	95	National Government
50	Manufacturing	96	Local Government
51	Managers & Employers	97	Defence
55	Craft	99	No Occupational Title

See Appendix 9 for explanation of achieved linkage.

The Total Abstinence Society was successful in its appeal to all sections of the middle class and this was reflected in the occupational distribution of its membership. Its share of the big three occupational groups was consistent, if slightly over-represented as table 7.4 below, emphasising figure 7.3, shows :

Table 7.4

Total Abstinence Society : Largest Occupation Groups

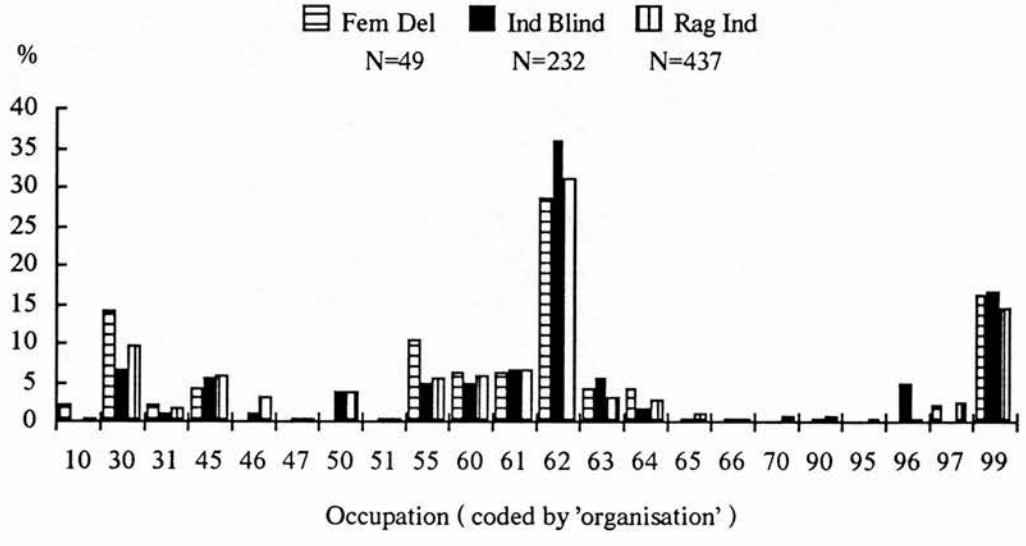
Occupational title coded by 'organisation'	Code	Tot. Abst. %	Pollbook %
Distribution & Processing	30	19.94	17.30
Craft	55	15.73	16.20
Legal	62	15.42	12.76
No occupational title	99	12.62	14.43

This fairly close replication of the occupational structure of Edinburgh's mid-century middle class, makes the Total Abstinence Society a prime focus of deeper analysis, and the next section of this chapter will examine the voting and subscription profile of its members.

However, of the societies which were central to Edinburgh's civil society, and were dominated by the bourgeoisie, not all reflected so well the occupational profile of the class. The second characteristic of many of such societies and associations was the predominance within their membership of the legal profession. It has already been pointed out that the three numerically greatest occupational class categories were distribution and processing (coded 30), craft (55) and legal (62). From figure 7.1 above it was seen that legal constituted just under 13% of the pollbook population. However if we examine three charitable causes which are in no way unusual in this instance, Female Delinquency[12], the Society for the Indigent and Industrious Blind[13], and the Ragged or Industrial School Society[14], then the over-representation of the legal profession amongst the ranks of the subscribers is apparent. In all three instances, the legal profession (62) is counted at or above 26% of all subscribers, a figure double that of the pollbook population in general, and reached over 35% in the cause of the Industrial Blind.[15]

Figure 7.4

Occupation Frequency of Selected Voluntary Organisations



See Appendix 9 for explanation of achieved linkage.

Occupation Coded by 'Organisation'			
10	Land	60	Professional (general)
11	Gardeners	61	Medical
20	Quarries	62	Legal
30	Dist. & Processing	63	Religion
31	Dealers	64	Education
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46	Bankers	70	Construction
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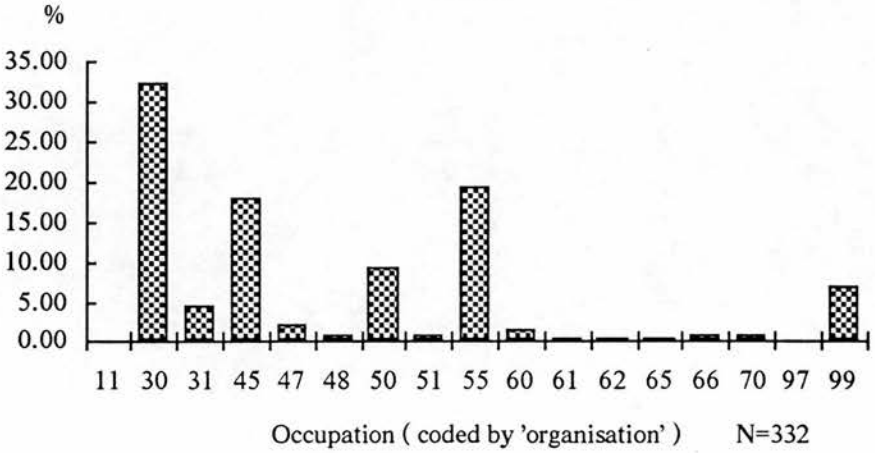
48	Clerks & Bookkeepers	95	National Government
50	Manufacturing	96	Local Government
51	Managers & Employers	97	Defence
55	Craft	99	No Occupational Title

These three societies have no particular reason to be dominated by the legal professions (62); unlike the debating societies described in chapter six where, as it were, the legal profession was at play, the three societies above were occupationally 'neutral'. There was no professional reason for the high representation of any occupational category, let alone the lawyers and their kind. The reason for this over-representation is the social role, self defined, that the Edinburgh law community had created for itself. As an occupational group, the legal profession used such subscriber activity to rise to the forefront of class consciousness. Time and time again, analysis of the subscriber activity of the Edinburgh middle class throws up a body of legal men (and their wives, mothers and daughters) who composed the bulk of the most active subscriber population. They may have been led by the ministers and aristocracy as presidents and patrons, but the rank and file was in many cases a legal one.

Of course the legal profession did not dominate all societies. Distribution and processing (30) and craft (55) have already been identified as numerically important occupational categories amongst the active subscriber population. These groups tended not to be over-represented within the occupationally 'neutral' societies, such as the three societies displayed in figure 7.4, but they are important foci of analysis. One particular society where occupational interest was uppermost was the Scottish Trade Protection Society. This society was very much a concern of distribution and processing (30), craft (55), manufacturing (50) and commerce (45). The table below shows that of its members for 1858, 32.5% were coded distribution and processing (30), nearly twice as much as the pollbook figure of 17.3%.[16]

Figure 7.5

Occupational Frequency of the Scottish Trade Protection Society



Occupation Coded by 'Organisation'			
11	Gardeners	55	Craft
30	Dist. & Processing	60	Professional (general)
31	Dealers	61	Medical
45	Commerce	62	Legal
47	Agents & Travellers	65	Misc. Services
48	Clerks & Bookkeepers	66	Printing & Publishing
50	Manufacturing	70	Construction
51	Managers & Employers	97	Defence
		99	No Occupational Title

See Appendix 9 for explanation of achieved linkage.

This was occupational interest dominating, but it does demonstrate the willingness and the ability of different sections of the Victorian middle class to instigate the means of safeguarding their own class interest. Through the Scottish Trade Protection Society, Edinburgh's commercial world hoped 'to protect the honest trader from the fraudulent efforts of those who went about 'seeking whom they might devour.'"[17] It has already been demonstrated that the legal profession (62) was able to protect its class interests through a number and a range of societies, and this subscriber action will be more fully examined in the next section. Distribution and processing (30) and craft (55) were equally important subscribers, and the Scottish Trade Protection Society was one example of their ability to administer their particular sphere of influence. These three occupational categories, numerically important within the pollbook population, have been shown to be equally important, and often disproportionately so, within a small selection of voluntary organisations examined. The purpose of the next two sections is to ask the question as to

whether those who subscriber are in any way different from the general pollbook population?

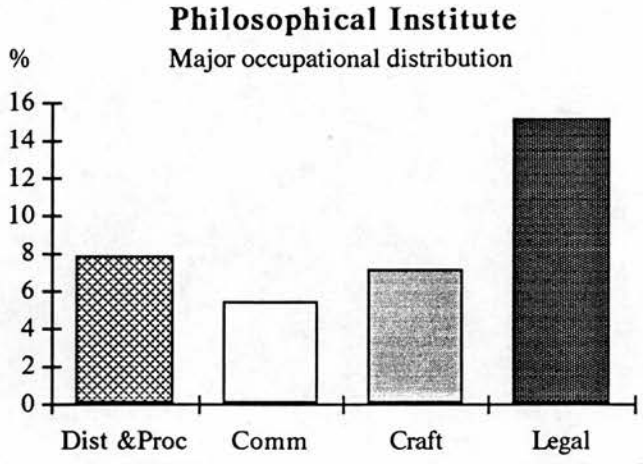
(III) The Politics and Economy of Subscribing : between the societies

With the existence of such a range of societies, and the tendency for a hard core of individuals to be active within a relatively large number of this range, the task of identifying the direction of 'cause and effect' in the actions of the subscriber population is made a difficult one. That being said, certain themes are clearly discernible and are important to understanding the functioning of Edinburgh's civil society mid-century. The first is that it is possible to determine the relative value of the act of subscription on the voting choice of the Edinburgh middle class; the second is that the pattern of subscription was a distinct one.

(a) The Money Givers and Voting Pair choice

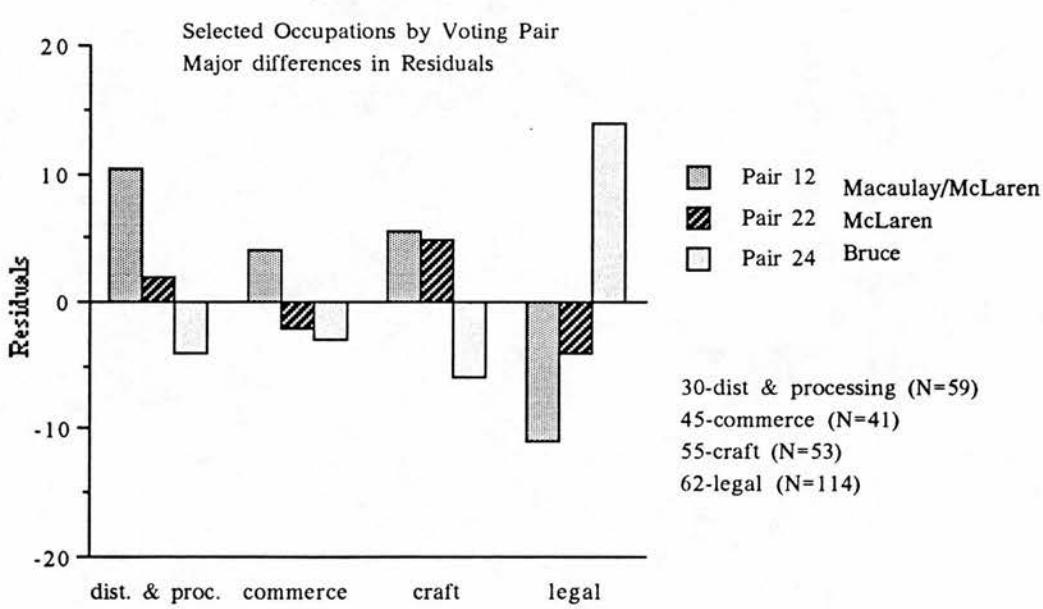
The question then is what can we discover about the Edinburgh middle class from an analysis of its subscriber activity? Because of the great range of societies, the best way forward is to examine a number of case studies. Analysis was done by crosstabulating occupation by monetary subscription or occupation by voting pair choice. In the graphs the results are often given in terms of 'residuals'. The 'residual' value is the difference between the 'expected' value and the 'observed' value for each crosstabulation. The 'expected' value is that which would be produced from a proportionate distribution of values in line with the occupational distribution. The difference in the observed vote from that expected is the residual. The analysis of the voting choice of the subscriber population in comparison with the general pollbook population has produced some large variations in the residuals. In figure 7.6, the distribution of the major occupational groups is presented, while Figure 7.7 shows the relationship between the largest occupational groups and the largest difference in voting pair choices of subscribers to the Philosophical Institute.[18]

Figure 7.6



See Appendix 9 for explanation of achieved linkage.

Figure 7.7



Residuals of ±10 and more are large differences, and there is a definite opposition, in the choice of Macaulay/McLaren as a candidate pair, between the legal profession (62) and the other occupational groups, particularly distribution and processing (30). It will be remembered from chapter five that Macaulay/McLaren was the most popular pair choice with 19% of the vote. (In that election McLaren and Bruce both received 11% of the total vote from their respective plumpers). The contrast within the Philosophical Institution

subscribers between the legal profession and the rest is apparent in the other voting choices, especially that of the Conservative, Bruce, where a residual of +13 was recorded. This conforms with the pollbook population at the general election where almost three times as many legal voters plumped for Bruce compared to the overall electorate (see chapter five, table 5.4). The legal membership of 15% is only marginally more than the expected 13%, so no great difference here. All that can be said was that distribution and processing and craft were under-represented within the Philosophical Institute, but it *was* a high status organisation and most of these two occupational groups would more likely appear in, for example, the Mechanics Institute. In this instance it can be said that membership of the Philosophical Institute was not an influence on voting preference, the definite opposition between legal and the other two main occupational groups was no more than would be expected from the pollbook population.

To take another example, the Total Abstinence Society, figures 7.8 to 7.10 present the output from a crosstabulation between occupation and voting pair for the three dominant occupational groups, in comparison with the pollbook.[19] The identifying codes for the voting pairs were discussed in chapter four, are presented below, and are listed in Appendix 8.

Figure 7.8

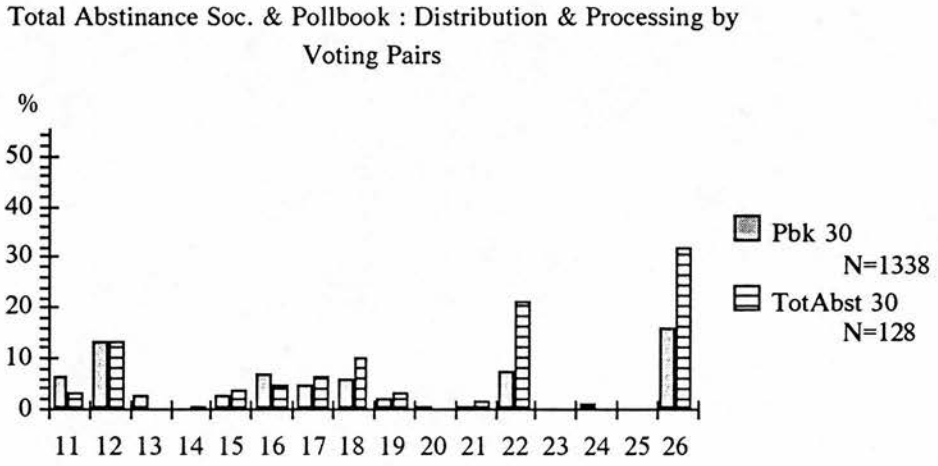


Figure 7.9

Total Abstinance Soc. & Pollbook : Craft by Voting Pairs

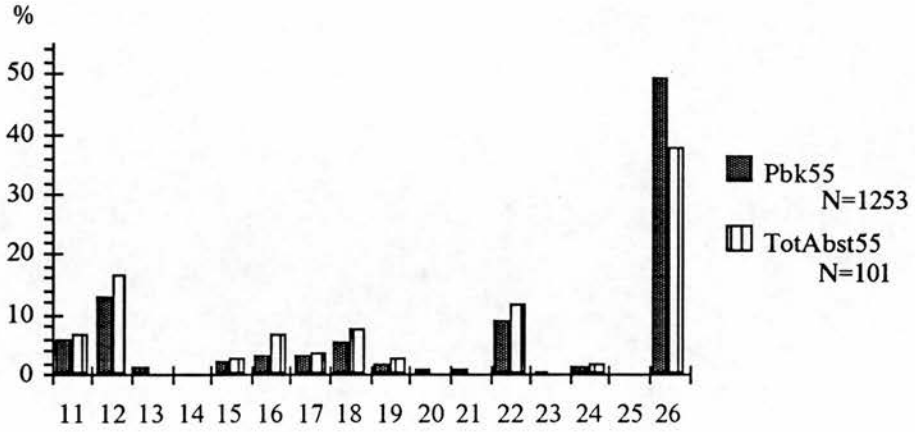


Figure 7.10

Total Abstinance Soc. & Pollbook : Legal by Voting Pairs

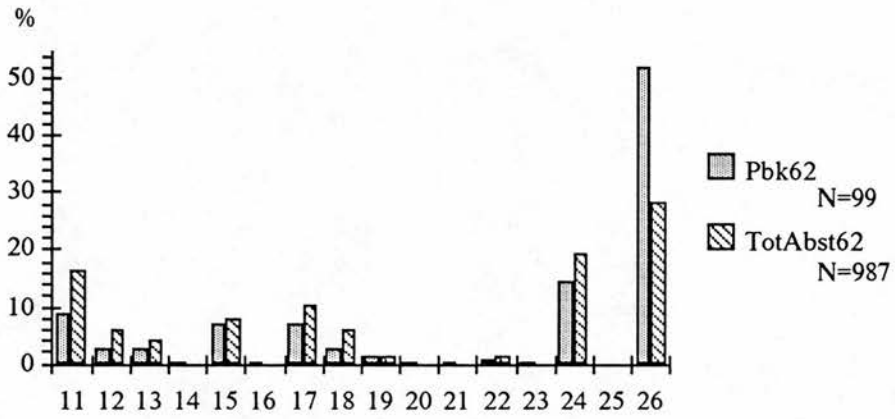


Table 7.5

Coded Voting Pairs
1852 General Election

11	Macaulay	Cowan	19	Cowan	
12	Macaulay	McLaren	20	McLaren	Bruce
13	Macaulay	Bruce	21	McLaren	Campbell
14	Macaulay	Campbell	22	McLaren	
15	Macaulay		23	Bruce	Campbell
16	Cowan	McLaren	24	Bruce	
17	Cowan	Bruce	25	Campbell	
18	Cowan	Campbell	26	No Vote	

Figures 7.8 to 7.10 compare the most popular pair choices. Three trends are most apparent from this comparison. The first is large numbers of subscribers within especially distribution & processing, but also craft, who plumped for McLaren (code 22) in distinction to their colleagues in the pollbook population. This was to be expected. McLaren's business background was as a draper and he was therefore seen as the representative of small retailers - the very people who are coded distribution & processing. McLaren was also a champion of the temperance movement. The point has been made in the previous chapter that it was McLaren, as Lord Provost, whose licensing controls introduced in Edinburgh were the forerunner of the Public House (Forbes Mackenzie) Act of 1853. It can clearly be seen, therefore, that the sectional interest, total abstinence, was working in conjunction with occupational interest to reinforce the choice of McLaren as a plumper; this point is reinforced in figure 7.12 below which records a residual of +15 from this group in favour of McLaren.

In contrast, the legal subscribers mostly reflected their fellow voters with regards to McLaren. Figures 7.11 to 7.13 present the residuals for the relationship between the legal subscribers to Total Abstinence and voting for Macaulay/McLaren, McLaren and Bruce. Their variance from distribution and processing and craft is clear, but this was in no way different from the general pollbook population. Legal did choose the McLaren/Macaulay pair (code 12) to a greater extent than those measured in the pollbook, as figure 7.10 demonstrates, but even this favouritism to sectional interest was small compared to distribution & processing and craft for this voting choice. For the legal subscribers, occupation identification was stronger than sectional identification in this instance. Note also that the legal subsection of subscribers were slightly more likely to have plumped for the Tory candidate Bruce than non-subscribers within the legal profession, although again the difference is not large and the numbers are fairly small.

Figure 7.11

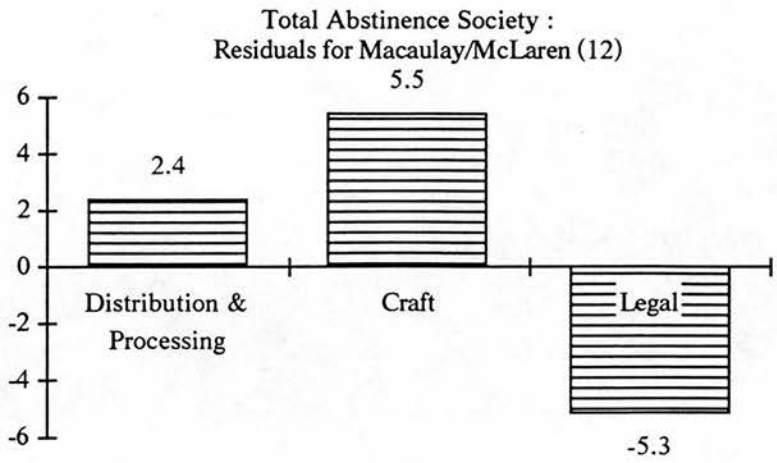


Figure 7.12

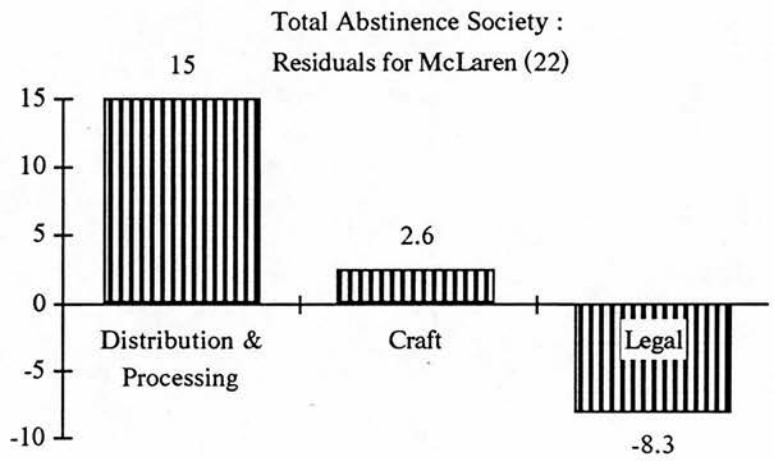
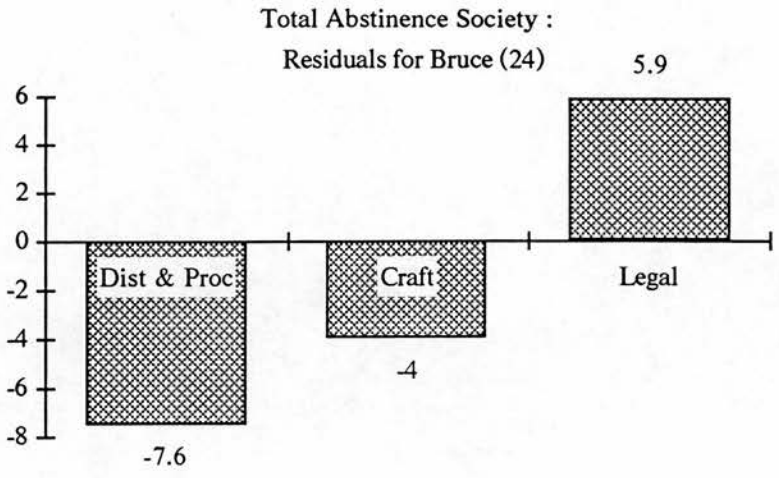


Figure 7.13



From these two case studies a contrasting picture is painted. For the Philosophical Institute it is discovered that subscription did not influence voting preference. The under-representation amongst its membership of the lower socio-economic classes did give this society a legal-tory tinge, but this was not enough to influence the election. In contrast, the Total Abstinence Society was seen to be voting in terms of its sectional interest. The legal profession did more or less resist, but for distribution and processing, membership of the Total Abstinence Society did tend to emphasise their preference for McLaren at the ballot box.

The subscriber population, therefore, was mixed in its differences from the general pollbook population. The best guess would be that campaigning societies had a much a greater influence on voting preference than social/status societies, and certainly Morris highlights the importance of campaigning societies in this instance.[20] The focus now is upon the amount subscribed, and the question is whether significant occupational differences are apparent amongst the subscriber population .

(b) The Money Givers : who subscribed what?

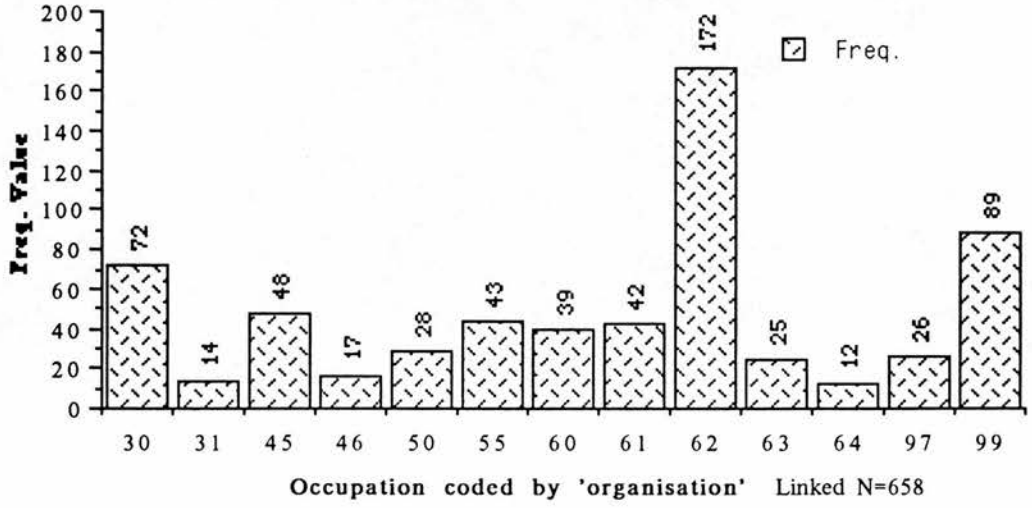
In the second section of this chapter it was noted that the Apprentice School subscription was an ill-fitting reflection of the middle class because it was a 'low subscription society'; in contrast, the New Club was described as a high status society for the Lothian landed

and the elite of the imperial armed forces, and therefore was the upper end of association by the Edinburgh bourgeoisie. In between these boundaries were a number of societies including the Total Abstinence Society and the Philosophical Institute which were of high status, of high subscription, and central to the philanthropic activities of the middle class in Edinburgh. Such societies, and such appeals, often involved the cause being built up into national importance. Appeals such as the Sick Children's Hospital in 1859[21], or the Royal Lunatic Asylum and its success at achieving national patronage and £50 subscription bestowed by the Queen[22], are cases in point. Another such cause which obtained national significance was the relief of destitution in the Scottish Highlands and Islands during the famine years between 1836 and 1850.

An Edinburgh group was formed to relieve the destitution in the Highlands and Islands. It was soon followed by a Free Church initiative in Glasgow which in turn prompted a separate Glasgow Committee to be formed. All three joined together under one Central Board of Management before being formerly split into an Edinburgh Section and a Glasgow Section, each taking responsibility for a portion of the country.[23] The remit of the Edinburgh section covered Skye, Wester Ross and Shetland.[24]

The occupational and subscription profile of those citizens who subscribed to the relief of Highland destitution c.1846, and who were successfully linked to the 1852/4 Pollbook, are presented in the two graphs below :

Figure 7.14
Highland Destitution
Occupational Frequency Count (>10)



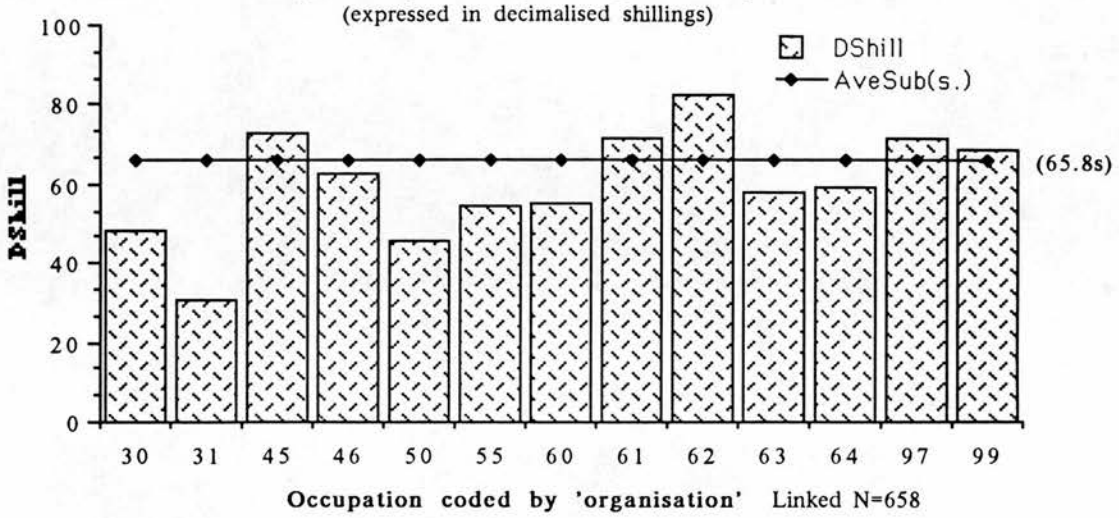
See Appendix 9 for explanation of achieved linkage.

Figure 7.15

Highland Destitution

Principal occupations by average subscription

(expressed in decimalised shillings)



Occupation coded by 'organisation'			
30	Dist. & Processing	60	Professional (general)
31	Dealers	61	Medical
45	Commerce	62	Legal
46	Bankers	63	Religion
50	Manufacturing	64	Education
55	Craft	97	Defence
		99	No Occupational Title

The first point to note from figure 7.15 is how high the average subscription was at 65.8s. This indeed was a high subscription society, and there are a number of reasons for this. The first is the desperate need for money to deal with highland destitution. A published letter from Thomas Chalmers in March 1846 argued that more funds needed to be raised : "don't let either those in relief or the highland proprietors over-rate the extent of relief from without, and relaxing somewhat their own responsibilities." The favoured solution from Chalmers was to refuse applications from the able-bodied "who may be living in voluntary idleness", and to send more seed-corn. Ultimately, he argued, the government needs to help. "but the public needs to keep contributing *as if* the government wont"' [original emphasis][25]

This need for more and more money recurred throughout the crisis and the Society frequently exclaimed the need to 're-double its efforts'. Even before Chalmers' warning of the need to keep up the level of contribution, The Witness had made clear that citizens and their families in some districts of Edinburgh should be prepared for a visit and "should have their contributions in readiness."[26]

Many methods were used to raise more money, the published sermon or tract, such as one advertised in The Witness, and reproduced below, was a common tactic :

> "In a few days will be published a Sermon, preached in aid of the Destitute Highlanders, by the Rev. D.T.K Drummond, incumbent of St Thomas' English Episcopal Chapel. Any profits arising from the sale will be given to the funds for the Destitution of the Highlands."[27]

From table 7.3 it has been seen that Rev. Drummond was one of the most active amongst Edinburgh's subscribers; in general, this advert is indicative of the various resources employed to raise finances. In Edinburgh there were 30 districts where collections were made, and this brings us to the second point concerning this appeal : its need for public accountability. The Committee was firm in its resolution that a fullest possible list of the subscribers be published because of the scale and haphazard nature of the collection :

> "A very great portion of the subscriptions were collected by parties who accounted irregularly to the Treasurer; there were committees in each county or district - collectors of upwards of 30 wards in Edinburgh - and other parties throughout the country."[28]

In addition the society needed the public's trust so that additional subscriptions would be forthcoming.

> "The object of the Committee in sending these accounts to the Accountant, although they have already been audited by the Finance Committee, is that subscribers and the public may have the assurance of a professional Accountant, unconnected with the Board, that the sums entrusted to their charge have been duly accounted for..."[29]

All such societies had to be publicly scrutinized, but for the relief of Highland Destitution, the sheer size of the subscriptions and their irregularity of collection, made outside regulation necessary. Figure 7.15 showed a high level of subscription from all the professional groups. What the figures hide, however, is the degree of multiple subscriptions from the certain individuals and, importantly, that the average was kept up by a few very large subscriptions from the likes of Sir James Colquhoun who gave £100 and the Earl of Zetland whose third subscription was also £100.[30] Multiple subscriptions and a significant few large subscriptions combined to make the relief of Highland Destitution a high subscription society.

Not all societies could rely on such large donations, and so to further examine the relationship between occupation and subscription the focus is again turned to the Total Abstinence Society, a society with a large subscription raised from many relatively small subscribers. The details of subscriptions in the Total Abstinence Society are given in Table 7.5 below which details the exact percentage figures for the three dominant occupational groups. Taken together, distribution & processing (30), craft (55), and legal (62), make up 51% of assigned occupational titles of those who subscribed to the Total Abstinence Society and were successfully linked to the Pollbook. A crosstabulation was carried out between occupation and level of subscription - the results are presented in the table below :

Table 7.5
Total Abstinence Society :
Occupation by Subscription (decimalised shillings)

	s.	1	1.5	2	2.5	3	3.5	4	5	7.5	10	10.5	20
N=128	30												
Count		24	8	10	54	5	1	0	20	1	4	0	1
Expected		18.1	5	7.4	63	2.8	0.8	0.6	22.9	0.8	3	0.6	2
Residual		5.9	3	2.6	-9	2.2	0.2	-0.6	-2.9	0.2	1	-0.6	-1
N=101	55												
		22	8	8	46	0	0	2	11	0	1	0	3
		14.3	3.9	5.8	49.7	2.2	0.6	0.5	18.1	0.6	2.4	0.5	1.6
Residual		7.7	4.1	2.2	-3.7	-2.2	-0.6	1.5	-7.1	-0.6	-1.4	-0.5	1.4
N=99	62												
		5	1	2	52	1	0	0	30	0	4	1	3
		14	3.9	5.7	48.7	2.2	0.6	0.5	17.7	0.6	2.3	0.5	1.5
Residual		-9	-2.9	-3.7	3.3	-1.2	-0.6	-0.5	12.3	-0.6	1.7	0.5	1.5

For the three lowest subscription amounts (1s., 1.5s. and 2s.) distribution and processing (coded 30) was over-represented, with the residual, respectively, +5.9, +3 and +2.6. The craft occupations (coded 55) were also over-represented at the lowest level : residuals of +7.7, +4.1 and +2.2 respectively. Both distribution and processing and craft were, moreover, under-represented at the most common subscription level of 2.5s (-9 and -3.7 respectively). These two occupation codes are of the lowest socio-economic status of the voting population measured in the pollbook. It is therefore interesting, and intuitively correct, that they be over-represented at the lower end of subscription amounts, and under-represented at the average amount and, in addition, under-represented at virtually the remainder of the scale of subscriptions (although N is really too small to allow more than conjecture). It is also intuitively correct that the legal profession (coded 62), which is at the higher end of the socio-economic spectrum of those identified in the pollbook, is found to be completely opposite to distribution and processing and craft with respect to amount subscribed. For the three lowest amounts, legal was under-represented to the extent of, respectively, -9. -2.9 and -3.7; for the average of 2.5s, legal was over-represented to the extent of +3.3. It is also noteworthy that the second most common amount subscribed by the legal profession was 5s, an amount at which it was over-represented - the figure was +12.3.

This analysis must remain tentative because the number of cases is sometimes rather small - note that for 1.5s. and 2s. N is 10 or less in all three examples. Yet for the Total Abstinence Society, with regard to level of subscription, its subscribers were split in terms of their occupation. That being said, the main purpose of presenting this table is to demonstrate that there tended to occur a distinct 'bunching' of amounts subscribed. In the case of the Total Abstinence Society it is clear from Table 7.5 that this 'bunching' occurred at 1 shilling, 2.5 decimalised shillings (two and sixpence) and 5 shillings. In all three instances, each occupational group assigned over half of their subscriptions to the latter two amounts, and in the case of the lawyers, 82% subscribed either 2.5 or 5 shillings.

This element of 'bunching' is an important point and can be demonstrated in one final example : the Ragged or Industrial Schools. Thomas Guthrie's Original Ragged Schools were dominated by the Free Church but with a 'sprinkling' of members of the Established Church and the United Presbyterians. It was this clear Protestantism which prompted the

United Industrial School to be set up in opposition, claiming to proceed on the principle of "*securing that religion be taught, but not of itself teaching religion*" [original emphasis].[31]

Both schools were set up to deal with society's flotsam. Especially dominating the school roll were the children of Irish immigrants, generally the most disadvantaged in Scottish society in this period. Guthrie's schools were specific in the role they were to play in the lives of the children they educated :

> "These children have no status; they are as it were below society, and are of its dangers. The object of the Ragged Schools is to give such a children a position in the social scale."[32]

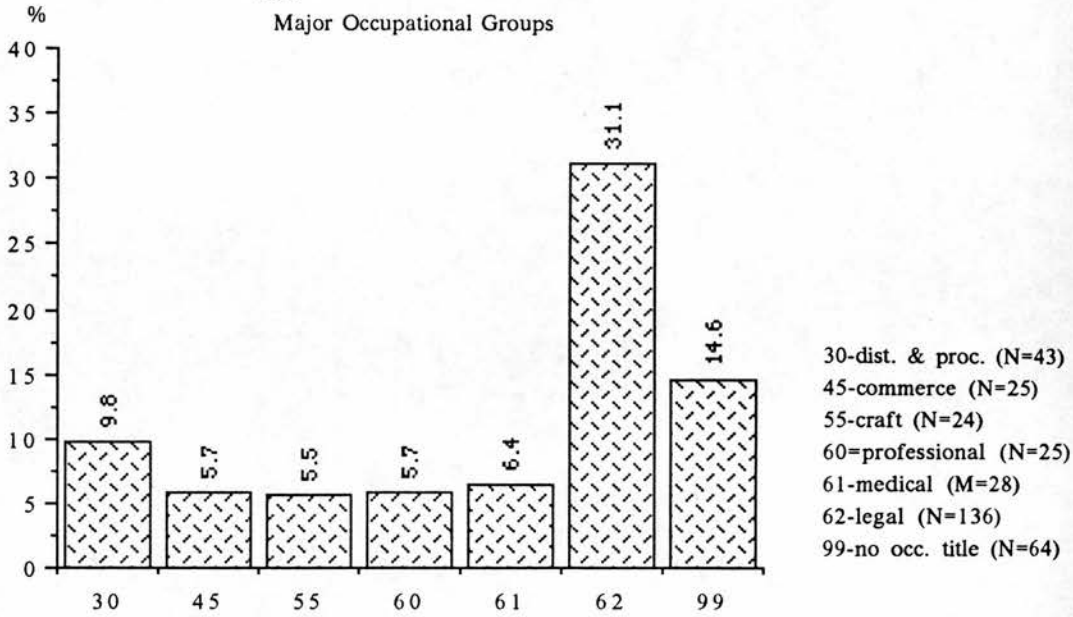
These were fine sentiments indeed, but after they leave the schools, the Directors' preferred place in the social scale for the children was not in Scottish society :

> "This plan of emigration is one deserving of favourable consideration, as a matter of police arrangement, whereby not only great good would be done to the community, but by which there would probably be an actual saving to the public purse."[33]

The Ragged Industrial Schools then were part of middle class society's defence mechanism, a pre-emptive strike on the poor and rootless. An examination of the subscribers to this society in 1858 is presented below.[34]

Figure 7.16

Ragged Industrial School



The predominance of the legal population amongst the subscribers is again present, but also noticeable is the respectable totals recorded by the general professionals (60) and the medics (61), in contrast to distribution & processing (30), commerce (45) and especially craft (55) who were all under-represented. Figures 7.14 to 7.16 present the subscription preferences of the dominant occupations :

Figure 7.17
Ragged Industrial School

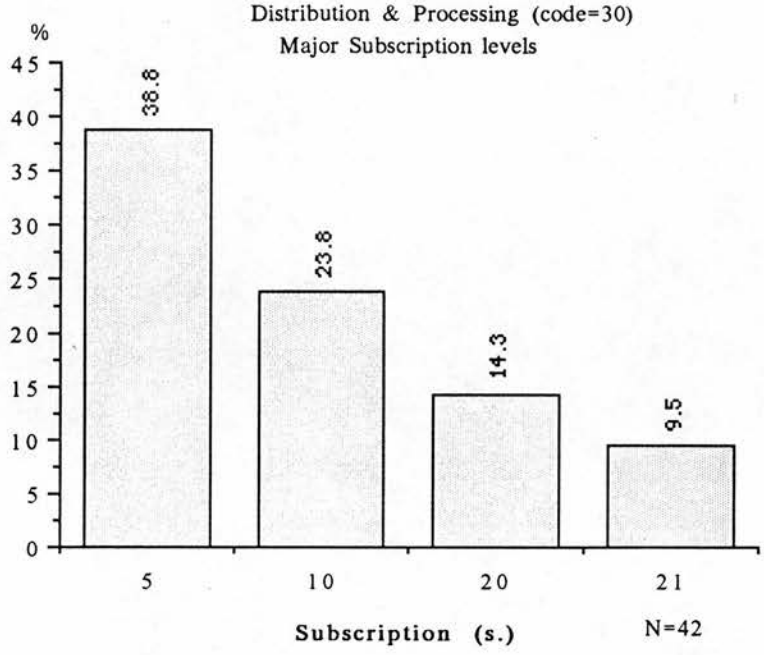


Figure 7.18
Ragged Industrial School

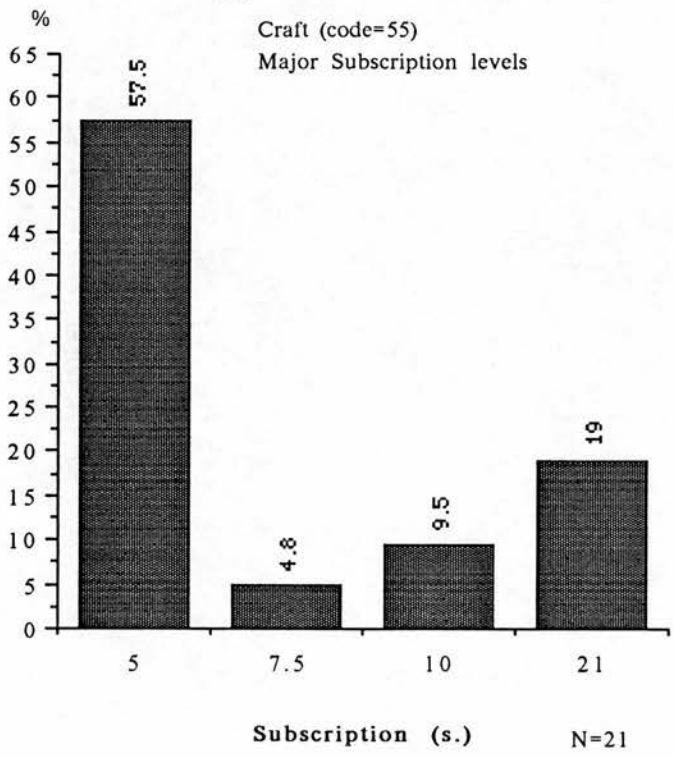
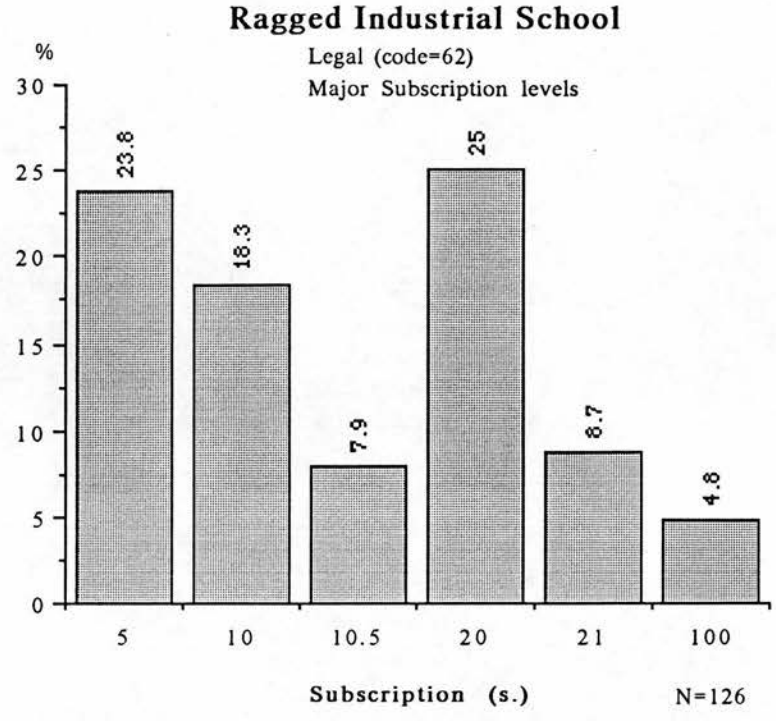


Figure 7.19



Over 60% of subscribers coded distribution and processing (30) gave either 5 or 10 shillings and nearly 60% of craft subscribers (55) gave only 5 shillings. For both these groups there was little range in the amounts subscribed, with few subscribing more than one guinea. The legal subscribers (62) showed more variation, with a noticeable number subscribing as much as 100 shillings. But again there occurred significant bunching, with just under half giving either 5 or 20 shillings.

The phenomenon of bunching, of 'pockets' of subscriptions, is a clear one from this analysis. The class difference in the subscriptions, whereby those of higher socio-economic status can afford to, and do, contribute higher amounts, is tempered by the universal tendency to subscribe certain specified amounts. In all the societies examined, there has been a range of subscriptions given, but certain amounts, certain 'pockets' have dominated. For the subscriptions to the Ragged Industrial Schools, of the three occupational groups examined, the overwhelming choice was five shillings. The 'expected' subscription, the average, dominated over the influence of occupation. The act of subscribing was more important than income, the subscribers were acting as a class.

(IV) The Subscriber Class

The study of the subscription lists for Highland Destitution, Total Abstinence and the Ragged or Industrial Schools has shown that although occupation, and therefore amount of disposable income, influenced subscription, what was still seen was the phenomenon of bunching around certain subscription levels. All classes tended to subscribe very near to the average, but that the wealthier occupations had a scattering of subscriptions at the higher end.

The implication of this research is that a group of subscribers have been identified, the majority, who gave the acceptable minimum. They subscribed the same amount as their neighbours, colleagues, and friends would have subscribed, and it was the amount the collector who have expected from someone of their status and in their neighbourhood to have subscribed. This of course was influenced by the publication of subscription lists. Central to the legitimacy of all such associations was the publication of accounts and subscriptions lists. The middle classes had to keep up appearances, and one could not under-subscribe one's status. There is however evidence of 'subscription fatigue'. Those who organised the many re-openings of the subscription to the Scott monument (see chapter nine) were well aware of the reluctance of Edinburgh's citizens to continually dip into their pockets for yet more money for a cause they were already likely to have subscribed to before. So for the reasons of status and of subscription weariness, the majority of the middle class tended to give the minimum their conscience and their snobbery, for want of a better word, would allow.

The explanation for the range of amounts subscribed, which follows from this argument, is that a limited number of individuals was always around to give large amounts to causes they believed in. These people continually changed between societies, depending on particular interests or concerns, but such a group, however fluid, always existed. Equally, there was always the large one-off subscription from, occasionally, the Queen and Prince Albert, more usually the Duke of Buccleuch or Roxburghe, or in the case of Highland Destitution, the Earl of Zetland. But the majority gave their subscription within a limited range and in fact they were concentrated in 'pockets' of subscriptions.

That the most active subscribers, as identified in table 7.3, may not have been the most financially generous, is certainly true, but their role was the contribution of their time, and

more importantly, their name. This group of activists organised the subscriber population, it organised, prioritised, and made respectable, the many causes they involved themselves in. Together, they ran the agenda of Edinburgh's civil society - together, they governed that civil society.

(V) The Governing of Civil Society : subscriber activity and national identity

Taken together, chapters five, six and seven have dissected the governing of Edinburgh's civil society in the mid-nineteenth century. Their purpose has been to show that the local bourgeoisie had all the resources necessary to structure and administer their society. If the role of the 'state' in the state/civil society relationship is that of the exercise of infrastructural power, then for the mid-nineteenth century that power was in the hands of the middle class. The mantle of 'state' was embodied within the urban middle class, and this is critical to understanding Scottish national identity in this period. The descriptive aim of chapters six and seven has been to outline Scottish civil society, in all its varied and penetrative forms. At the same time the analytical purpose of these two chapters has been to show how that society was governed.

Chapter six was split between those societies which were set up to deal with problems and to dispense philanthropic financial, educational and moral help, and those societies which acted as power and status foci for the urban middle class. This subscriber action allowed the middle class to define itself both in relation to itself and in contrast to the working class. This action also allowed the middle class to deal with the problems of urban society without the recourse to the parliamentary state. In chapter two the parliamentary state was seen as the source of empowerment to the local state and the urban bourgeoisie, while in chapter six the ways and means that the middle class exercised this power was explained.

This chapter has extended the analysis of this middle class control over civil society. It has addressed the question as to whether those who subscribed were in any way different from the inactive members of the Edinburgh middle class. An active elite has been identified which was spread between a number of societies and supported a number of causes. There was, therefore, a certain group of high status individuals who exerted a great deal of influence over Edinburgh's civil society, an influence that at best could only be underestimated.

A second set of analyses concerned the occupational, voting and the subscription profile of the subscriber class. The lawyers were shown to be over-represented within a number of different societies, and this was indicative of their social power. Distribution & processing and craft were shown to be numerically important subscribers in most of the societies. In terms of voting, it was found that in many instances the subscriber population followed the general pollbook population, although the subscriber population often threw up some strong extremes in their candidate pair choice. In one instance it was found that for the Total Abstinence Society, the cause of temperance outweighed class. The analysis of the amount subscribed to different causes produced the expected split between 'low' and 'high' status societies, but made the important discovery of 'pockets' of subscriptions. No matter the occupation, no matter the society, the majority of subscriptions tended to bunch around favoured amounts. In this sense the subscriber population acted as a class - the culture of subscription across all societies was a common one, led by the multiple actions of an energetic few.

This was the middle class action which administered Edinburgh's civil society. This was 'self-government'. Scottish civil society was governed from within during the 1830-1860 period. The parliamentary state was not the focus of Scottish nationalism in these decades, to argue so would be qualitatively mistaken. Scottish national identity was premised on this peculiar 'state'/civil society relationship and a judgement on the strength or weakness of Scottish national identity in this mid-century period can only rest upon the understanding of middle class power explained in chapters six and seven. From these foundations, chapters eight and nine examine the symbols, icons and rhetoric of Scottish national identity in the mid-nineteenth century.

1 Oliver and Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac and National Repository for the Year 1854 (1854), Oliver & Boyd, Edinburgh. [NLS : R.305]; List of the Electors of the City of Edinburgh, arranged according to their residence, Corrected after Appeal Court 1854, showing the voting at the general election, July 1852 (1854) Edinburgh.

2 Morris, R. J. (1990c) "Petitions, Meetings and Class Formation amongst the Urban Middle Classes in Britain in the 1830s." Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 103.

3 Brown, Callum B. (1990) "Religion, Class and Church Growth", in Fraser & Morris (eds). Brown, Callum B. (1991) "Secularisation : a theory in danger?" Scottish Economic and Social History, vol. 11.

4 Apprentice Schools : Third Annual Report of the Association for Promoting Education among Workmen, Apprentices, etc. (1848) Edinburgh [NLS : 3.2843(14)]. Apprentice Schools : Plea for Education (1849) Edinburgh. [NLS : 3.651(3)].

5 The New Club, Edinburgh, from its foundations in 1787 (1900) Edinburgh : 17; Cockburn, Harry A. (1938) A History of the New Club, Edinburgh, 1787-1939, W. & R. Chambers, Edinburgh : 15.

6 Alphabetical List of the Members of the New Club corrected to 30th April 1923 (1923) Edinburgh [NLS : 5.5858(3)].

7 Rules and Regulations of the New Club, Edinburgh (1847) [NLS : 5.5858(3)].

8 The New Club, Edinburgh (1900) : 41.

9 Cockburn (1938) : 88. Rules of the New Club, Princes Street, Edinburgh (1923) Edinburgh : 15.

10 Guthrie, Douglas (1962) A Short History of the Royal Society Club of Edinburgh, 1820-1962, Published privately by the Royal Society Club, Edinburgh. [NLS : NE.11.e.19]. Devlin-Hope, S. (ed.) (1981-83) Scotland's Cultural Heritage, Volume 1 : One hundred medical and scientific fellows of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, elected from 1783-1832, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh; Volume II, 100 Literary Fellows, 1783-1812; Volume III 100 Medical Fellows, 1783-1844; Volume IV 100 Medical Fellows, 1841-1882; Boyle, Ann (ed.) (1984) Volume V : The Royal Society of Edinburgh : Scientific and Engineering Fellows, elected 1784-1876., Edinburgh University, Edinburgh.

11 The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society (1853), H. Armour, Edinburgh.

12 Report of the Dean Bank and Boroughmuirhead Institution for the Reformation of Juvenile Female Delinquents (1857). [NLS : 6.1520(29)]

13 Edinburgh Society for the Relief of the Indigent and Industrious Blind, 1856-57 (1858) 'Town Subscriptions', Edinburgh [NLS : 6.1505(29)].

14 Eleventh Annual Report of the Edinburgh Original Ragged Industrial Schools, Ramsay Lane, Castle Hill, for the year ending 31st December 1857 (1858) Edinburgh [NLS : 6.1520(7[1-2])].

15 Note that in all instances N refers to the number of subscribers successfully linked to the 1852/4 pollbook (the 'base').

16 List of Members of the Scottish Trade Protection Society (1858) Edinburgh. [NLS : 6.1504(42[4])].

17 General Meeting of the Scottish Trade Protection Society (1854), Edinburgh. [NLS : 6.1504(42[3])].

18 Roll of Members of the Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh, 10th February 1857. (1857) Edinburgh [EML : YAS 122 P56, A6028].

19 The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society (1853).

20 Morris, R. J. (1990b) Class Sect and Party ; The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds, 1820-1850, Manchester University Press, Manchester.

21 An Appeal on Behalf of the Proposed Hospital for Sick Children in Edinburgh (1859) Edinburgh [NLS : 6.1506(26[1])]

22 Report by the Managers of the Royal Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum for the year 1842, presented to the Annual General Meeting, held on Monday 30th January, 1843 (1843) Edinburgh [NLS : 3.1184(12)].

23 First Report of the Edinburgh Section of the Central Board for the Relief of Destitution in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for 1848 (1848) Edinburgh [SRO : HD 6/14] : 16.

24 First Report of the Edinburgh Section (1848).

25 The Witness 6 March 1847.

26 The Witness 6 January 1847.

27 The Witness 6 January 1847.

28 Reports of the Accounts of the Edinburgh Section of the Relief of the Destitution of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (1851) Edinburgh [EML : qYNA 250 R38,Acc/21296] : 7.

29 Reports of the Accounts of the Edinburgh Section : 3-4.

30 SRO : HD 16/70.

31 Public Education : The Original Ragged School and the United Industrial Schools of Edinburgh : Being a Comparative View of their Respective Results (1855) Edinburgh : 5-6. [NLS : 1961.77(1)].

32 Second Annual Report of the Edinburgh Original Ragged or Industrial Schools : With a List of Subscribers and Donations (1849) Edinburgh : 5. [NLS : 3.136(7)].

33 Second Annual Report of the Edinburgh Original Ragged (1849): 15.

34 Eleventh Annual Report of the Edinburgh Original Ragged Industrial Schools (1858).

Chapter Eight
Symbols and Rhetoric :
The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights

(I) Scottish Nationalism : why symbols?

It is for the construction of 'identity' that the proposal is to analyse the symbols of Scotland's past. The idea from Goffman of the total immersion of the individual in others, of living in 'a hall of mirrors', is a useful way for starting to think about how we gain our identity. How we understand others and how we understand the reflection of ourselves is fundamental to the construction of self. The next step is to determine how individuals come to seek commonality with a nation. W.J.M. Mackenzie, with regard to political identities, has attempted to explain the slide from 'personal identity' to 'identification with' to 'common sense of identity' to 'larger national identity'.[1] To chart this change, Mackenzie uses the work of Erik Erikson to show, as in Goffman, the determining influence of an individual's surroundings on their 'identity'. However, interprets Mackenzie, although Erikson accepts that the self can only be understood in interaction with others, there are important differences and sentiments which are possible. There is no one-to-one relationship between a particular set of surroundings and the construction of self. Thus by using the Gramscian idea that the 'individual makes their own history', Erikson qualifies it by saying that,

> "they do not make it as they please, they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly found, given and transmitted from the past."[2]

Individual are dependent on their surroundings and their past histories to determine their identity. Mackenzie develops this by adding, importantly, that the creation of the self-conscious identity involves a certain degree of structuring of the situation : there is required the emergence of leaders to 'tell one who one is', through the use of the rhetoric of identity, the use of 'we'.[3] The implication of this for the creation of identity is that those who share an interest, share an identity; that the interest of each requires the collaboration of all. This is activated through the idea that all those who share a network of communication share an identity.[4] The important group is that which manages or controls the use of 'we'.

By accepting Mackenzie's argument, we can appreciate the power of the common meaning given to common symbols for the construction of common identity. This is the reason for an emphasis on the rhetoric of understanding applied to symbols in the construction of the Scottish national identity. A shared sense of identity is based on the perception of mutuality. It is important, then, that the discourse of mutuality be examined. Certain symbols have been, and continue to be, common to Scottish national identity, although interpretations have changed over time. William Wallace, Robert Bruce, Robert Burns, and Sir Walter Scott have dominated as icons within the Scottish ethnie. It was argued in chapter three that the ethnie is dependent upon the lucky-dip of the historical past, fundamentally shaped by contemporary interpretation, being therefore inherently malleable. This chapter will examine the interpretation applied to Scottish icons in the mid-nineteenth century.

It was argued in chapter two that government in Victorian Britain was essentially local and that the central state empowered the local state. In chapters five, six and seven, this analysis was extended to show the intricate networks of day-to-day 'governing' of everyday public life by the Edinburgh middle class. Governing society, then, was local. The suggestion so far has been that because the Scottish middle class controlled such power over civil society that there was, as a consequence, no rational need to desire an independent Westminster-style Scottish parliament. This cast doubt on social theorists whose definition of nationalism centred upon parliamentary politics. Governing Scotland was a local affair for the town councils and the middle class. The question which must now be addressed is, if this view of the state/civil-society relationship is accepted, how now should we understand the common meaning given to the common symbols of Scottish national identity? Given the nature of government in the mid-nineteenth century, what shape was given to the Scottish ethnie? If it was not rational to think in terms of Scottish independence, then how should Scottish nationalism in the mid-nineteenth century be interpreted? This chapter, and chapter nine, will examine contemporaries' interpretation of the symbols of Scottish nationalism. The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR) is the subject presently. The NAVSR was, in Mackenzie's terms the group we structured the nationalist 'we' in Scotland. As a society the NAVSR only properly existed for three years (1853-6), but in our period it provided the most consistent critique of Scotland's relationship with England under the Union of 1707. Indeed it is argued that this critique was part of a wider discourse on Scotland's

national identity in the years 1830-1860, and in chapter nine the focus will shift to the commemoration of Scott, Burns, Wallace, Bruce, and the building of the National Monument on Calton Hill.

(II) The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights

In Mackenzie uses Gramsci to show how leaders interpret people's past and identity. These leaders usually conflict, but their purpose is to set the terms of the debate, to set the agenda. In the mid-nineteenth century, the leaders who most coherently expressed how the nation should understand its common past was the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights. Although it existed as an organisation for only a very short period, this Scottish Rights Association was the most explicit critique of Scotland's relationship with England under the Union of 1707, and echoed such expressions both before and after its existence in the 1830-1860 period.

Politically, the Scottish Rights Association, as the NAVSR was often called, was a real mixture. James Grant, its dominant protagonist, boasted that 'Whigs, Conservatives, Radicals, Free Traders and Protectionists, the adherents of every political section and religious sect, have ignored their petty squabbles to demand justice for their country.'[5] James Grant was a second cousin of Walter Scott and his fame rested on the writing of romantic historical adventures. He and his brother John were joint-secretaries of the Scottish Rights Association and provided it with much of its impetus. Lord Eglinton & Winton, the Association's chairman, was 'second in influence only to Lord Derby within the Conservative party.' It was argued that he 'threw away all political aspiration in contending for the national cause of his country'[6], although he did became minister for Ireland in 1852. Charles Cowan, the Free Church Liberal, and Scottish Rights supporter, offered 'to shower Scotland in gold', as The Scotsman put it, before his election to Westminster in 1852. Cowan made his promise in response to a challenge from John Grant, on the eve of the 1852 election, in a letter dated the 13th of April, to resist 'centralisation' in London.[7] It was in a letter the next week that Grant proclaimed that after the election an association for the protection of the Scottish people would be formed.[8]

The whole tone of the rhetoric of nationalism from the Association, which remained consistent throughout its existence, was set by the chairman, the Earl of Eglinton, at their very first public meeting, held in Edinburgh :

> "I am not wrong-headed enough to wish that the Union, which has been established so happily for the peace and tranquillity of both, should be interfered with. I am not foolish enough to imagine that, if such were my wishes, any efforts of mine to sever those, I trust, indissolubly united. (cheering) I can only say that if I thought the result of this Association could lead to such a misfortune, I would not remain in it for a moment."[9]

The National Association was not in the business of destroying the Union of 1707. The Earl of Eglinton similarly proclaimed at the first Glasgow meeting of the Association that "The Union of the two countries is as firmly established as the House of Hanover on the throne. (applause)"[10] If the Union was not under threat, then how did the National Association define its role? In the following extract from the first Glasgow meeting, it is clear that 'patriotism' was central :

> "We are not a province, as is proved by our having a separate Established Church, separate laws, and a Court of Session (cheers). But, it is asked, 'What is the Nationality of which they complain?' 'What is nationality?' It is patriotism! (cheers) And what is patriotism? The most noble sentiment by which the human heart is animated. (loud cheers) The theme of the poet - the dream of the youth - the admiration of mature years - the foundation of all national greatness. (much cheering) It is the love of the husband for his wife - the parent for his child; it is something more enobling still. It may slumber, but it never dies, and why are we alone to be decried for loving this old country of ours? (loud cheers) We love our English brethren, and we are proud to be associated with them on an empire on which the sun never sets - (cheers) - but we are Scotchmen still (cheers). We glory in the triumphs of a Malborough, a Nelson and a Wellington, but may we not with look with pride to the achievements of a Wallace and a Bruce? (great applause). We read with delight the works of a Byron and a Wordsworth, and a Dickens, but may we not claim more specially our own, a Scott and a Burns? (cheers) We admire the pages of Gibbon, but may we not admire, with even more delight, the works of a Hume, a Robertson, an Alison, and a Macaulay? (cheers) We admire the works of a Lawrence and a Reynolds; but we claim as our own a Wilkie, a Grant, and a Swinton. (cheers) The feeling of patriotism which has aroused itself in Scotland may have been at first scouted as absurd and ephemeral. It may have been first given utterance to by men of no political eminence or hereditary rank; it may have been looked coldly on by those who were regarded as the hereditary and selected guardians of the liberties of Scotland, but it is a reality which will not die away, and which must be attended to. (cheers)"[11]

It was the sense of patriotism which allowed the Scottish Rights Association to proclaim its admiration of England, but its love of Scotland. This allowed it to to argue for the

maintenance of Scottish rights within the Union. The love of Scotland was that of first amongst equals.

The Scotsman's report of the original meeting noted how the hall was crowded to excess and that many hundreds had failed to gain admission; but in its analysis of the event The Scotsman was very critical of the objectives of the Association and its political mix and match who took the platform. Of the public meeting in November, The Scotsman proclaimed that "the 'Scottish People' were not there!" The Scotsman criticised the 'multitude and confusion of objects' which the Association stated were its aims, and argued that the Scottish MPs,

> "... all know, that never since the Reform Bill has any Scottish measure been passed which a majority of them opposed, nor any Scottish measure refused when a majority of them asked."[12]

On the whole the newspapers were split in their support for the the Scottish Rights Association. R. M. W. Cowan surveyed the editorials and discovered that twenty supported the movement, five were neutral and five were hostile.[13] But on this particular occasion, however, The Scotsman was mistaken in its hostility, based as it was on the false premise that the Association was demanding an independent Scottish parliament. The NAVSR made various demands, but a Scottish parliament was not one of them. In contrast Figure 8.1 lists twenty four reasons why, in the opinion of 'A citizen of Edinburgh', Scottish rights required attention[14] :

Figure 8.1

(1) The Abolition of the Scottish Board of Excise and Custom in 1843
(2) The superiority of the English and Irish Poor Laws in comparison with the Scotch.
(3) Neglect of public charities in Scotland by the government
(4) Inadequacy of public defence in Scotland
(5) The inadequacy of money spent on harbours of refuge in Scotland in comparison with England
(6) The Great Famine of 1846 : £8,000,000 donated to Ireland, nothing to Scotland.
(7) Scotland being, at present, without a special Secretary of State; the Lord Advocate is unfit to do all the duties expected off him.
(8) Demands the return of the Privy Council of Scotland - the ancient independence of the country.
(9) Holyrood and Linlithgow Palaces are crumbling
(10) Scotland contributes more to the Exchequer than Ireland
(11) Scotland lacks a fair number of MPs
(12) The General Post Office in Edinburgh is badly paid in comparison with Dublin

(13) The General Post Office in Glasgow is a crumbling building
(14) Postal mismanagement
(15) Inland Revenue Office
(16) The Scottish heraldic emblems have been down-graded.
(17) Scotland's revenue returns are no longer counted by the Exchequer
(18) Sale of Crown lands
(19) Scottish police not supported by the government
(20) The United Kingdom of England and Scotland should be always designated Great Britain
(21) Military spending on building barracks more so in England than in Scotland
(22) Ordnance survey work of Scotland lagging behind
(23) The Bank Act of 1845 restricts the Scottish Banking System
(24) Union Riots in 1706 - evidence of original unpopularity of the Union.

Generally, as figure 8.1 suggests, the Scottish Rights Association's demands were for a fairer treatment of Scotland from the Exchequer. However there was also the demand for better administration, better government. This was focussed on the re-establishment of the post of Secretary of State for Scotland, which had been abolished in 1746. Since that particular response to the Jacobite uprisings, the administering of Scottish affairs had been included in the remit of the Lord Advocate. The Lord Advocate, it was argued, was overloaded with his own advocacy business, his judicial role, and the governing of Scotland. Lord Henry Cockburn, who claimed in 1854 to have known all but one of the fourteen Lord Advocates since 1800, suggested that only about four had been suited for public life. This encouraged him to suggest that the possibility of a Lord Advocate being a good Scotch manager was so rare that for practical purposes it should not occur. Therefore, he proclaimed :

> "For myself, I am quite clear that, whatever he may be called, a recognised and responsible manager of Scotch affairs, distinct from the Lord Advocate, would be expedient. He may be the Home Secretary, or an under Secretary, or a Lord of the Treasury, or anything else; but he ought not *as a matter of course* to be also Lord Advocate."[15] [original emphasis]

Cockburn was not the greatest supporter of the Scottish Rights Association, but he did acknowledge in his Journal that grievances existed and did ask "Why is it never proposed to make each successive Attorney-General the general minister for England?" His only fear that the Association would be antagonistic to Westminster and so block, in his view, more reasonable claims for equality.

A major boost for the Scottish Rights Association, after the attacks it endured from The Scotsman and The Times, was the endorsement of the demand for a Secretary of State for

Scotland by W. E. Aytoun in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine.[16] The NAVSR itself expressed its demand for a minister of Scotland with a warning over the experience of Europe, drawing parallels with the revolutionary movements so recent in their memories :

> "There are several states on the Continent which owe fealty to sovereigns not resident within their boundaries, but I never heard of one which was left at least without a reasonable governor - and, recollect this, Scotland is no petty province. We have a population of three million living under our own laws and institutions; and the revenue that we contribute to the the United Kingdom is larger than that of many independent states of Europe. It is larger than that of Holland, Belgium, Naples, Sardinia, or Sweden and Norway. It is larger than the combined revenues of Bavaria, Denmark, Greece and Switzerland (cheers). Now, there is not one of these countries to which we do not send envoys extraordinary, with a diplomatic staff."[17]

In addition, it threatened the possible consequences of insufficient representation of Scottish interests. The immediate experience of Europe had been a revolutionary one and an inevitable worry for the British state. The Glasgow solicitor William Burns (author of the two volumes of The Scottish Wars of Independence : its Antecedents and Effects (1874)) evoked these events on the Continent so to firm his resolution that the grievances of Scotland, as perceived by the NAVSR, should be answered. To quote him at some length from a letter written to Palmerston, and in response to another English newspaper attack :

> "The Times, indeed, will have it that this "jargon of nationalities" has been the source of all the evils Europe has endured since 1848, and therefore anything of the kind should be ignored. Is this your lordships theory as to the condition of Europe, and her sources if danger, since the Congress of Vienna - or will you not rather agree with me, in saying that these dangers have arisen, and continue to threaten, owing to the violation of existing nationalities, by the system of dealing with nations as if they were cattle, that could be allowed off and appropriated according to the arrangements of politicians? I do not expect your Lordship's answer; but perhaps the Times may deign to tell us what Poland, Hungary, or Italy, would say to the question, or what answer would be given by many portions of Germany. Happily, my Lord, our circumstances are different, and any contest we may have will be a peaceful one. But the principle at the bottom of the contest is the same."[18] [original emphasis].

The reinstatement of a Secretary of State for Scotland was one of the core demands of the Scottish Rights Association. Their argument was based on the 'sacred three' of kirk, law and education, the guaranteed institutions of Scottish nation-hood. Their argument was also based on the supposed down-grading of Scottish issues which this absence of a

Secretary of State had caused. Such administrative neglect, so perceived, was wrapped up in quite typical nationalist worry over the honour of the regalia of the nation. Ever since Sir Walter Scott made his highly dramatic re-discovery of the lost Crown jewels of Scotland in 1818, locked in a forgotten chest in a bricked-up room in Edinburgh Castle, Scottish romanticists were highly sensitive to the protocol and honour of Scotland's heraldic past. Typical of their complaints was the petition sent to Victoria by John Grant :

> "That your Majesty's Petitioners have humbly to represent that it has been the custom for some time to display upon the Forts, Garrisons and Military Positions of this part of the United Kingdom, and particularly upon the Castle of Edinburgh, on the occasion of anniversaries, certain flags and royal standards, quartered with the Arms of Great Britain, as borne in England, in so far as the Lion Rampant of Scotland is placed in the Second Quarter of the said standards, and not in the First and Fourth Quarters, and the arms of England are placed in the First and Fourth Quarters and not in the Second."[19]

The same problem of heraldic honour was also apparent, it was complained, with the new two shilling piece, the Florin. So interested was Grant in such issues that he applied, ultimately unsuccessfully, for the post of the Lyon King of Arms, he who presides over the Heraldry in Scotland. One correspondent for the London Morning Post was convinced of Grant's suitability,

> "...as his brilliant romances are found in every clime where the English language is read ... and the frequent references made to heraldry in his works show that he is well versed in the obtuse science, and the chivalrous sentiments which he has embodied in his writings bear evidence that it is an office which he is well suited to fill.
>
> ... An application has been made to the government on his behalf by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales."[20]

This obsession with heraldry was not the most successful campaigning weapon for the Scottish Rights Association, as it was frequently taken as a point of ridicule by critics. Not untypical, perhaps, was the response of Punch to such grievances :

> "SCOTLAND, having complained of the shameful treatment of her lion in the English standard, the complaint will, it is understood, be followed up by Wales, - the English heralds have completely ignored the Welsh rabbit."[21]

A more effective campaigning tactic, certainly at first although not later, was the use of the petition : to both Houses of Parliament, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and to Her Majesty were most common. These petitions were usually produced by the various Town Councils, such as, for example, the twenty petitions forwarded to the Home Secretary by Lord Eglinton on 14 June, 1853.[22] Another campaigning weapon was the use of statistics to provide 'facts' demonstrating Scotland's ill-treatment. This was explicitly the object of Robert Christie who, on behalf of the Association, wished to add some rigour to the 'universal complaints' within Scotland concerning the grants of public money. Thus, with data culled from various Parliamentary documents, Christie produced a set of tables which ranged from the expenditure on royal palaces - table 8.1 below - to comparative public money spent on safe harbours for the east coast fishing fleet, improvements in London, the cost of the Police of London and Ireland, and other instances where Scotland supposedly did less well out of the Exchequer in proportion to its input of six millions.[23]

Table 8.1

England	**£**
St James's Palace	66336
Royal Mews, Pimlico	17570
Kensington Palace & Gardens	48546
Carleton Stables	1215
Buckingham Palace & Gardens	184270
Excluding £88,837 in 1828	
Malborough House, external repairs	399
Hampton Court Palace, Gardens, Shed, House, and Bushby Park	152916
Kew Palace Buildings, Royal Botanic & Pleasure Gardens & Palm-House	162708
Windsor Castle, Parks, and Forest	435853
Frogmore	38737
Bagshot Park	325
Ascot Royal Stand, Stables, and Kennel	6920
Victoria Park	133266
Royal Pavilion, Brighton	16384
Hyde, St James's and Green Parks	178652
Regent's Park and Primrose Hill	70540
Greenwich Park	12137
Richmond Park	80365
Sum for England	**£1,607,139**

	Scotland	
Holyrood Park		19831
Holyrood Palace		3597
Linlithgow Palace		558
	Sum for Scotland	**£23,986**
	Ireland	
Phoenix Park		107, 351
	Total	**£1,738,476**

This apparent neglect of public expenditure in Scotland was a frequent irritation in the eyes of the Scottish Rights Association. Charles Cowan sent a letter to the first public meeting in which he recalled the apathy he had experienced in his dealings with Government with regard to Scottish interests, in particular with regard to his campaign to fund the endowments of Professorial chairs at Edinburgh University.[24] Generally the Scottish Rights Association was aggrieved at the apparent lack of returns from the Exchequer :

> "Large sums are spent in England and Ireland for purposes not of an imperial character at all, while scarcely a penny finds its way north. England and Ireland received £185,754 for their charitable institutions. The only amount of the kind made to Scotland was one to the Dispensary of Kirkwall of £2."[25]

These, then, were some of the problems identified by the NAVSR of which remedy was demanded. The initial public speech by Eglinton made clear that the Association supported the Union, and their petitions always stressed loyalty to Her Majesty. But there was a consistent and a clear recognition of Scottish nationality existing separately and independently. In one of the Association's tracts it was argued that England and Scotland,

> "... are distinguishable *historically* and *institutionally* and until Scottish history shall be forgotten (which is the same thing as saying until letters shall perish), and Scottish legal, ecclesiastical, and other institutions are revolutionised, the two countries must remain distinguishable in certain important features, suggesting separate local interests, and demanding a peculiar administration."[26] [original emphasis]

In response to The Times, John Grant, writing as 'Ian', argued against Scotland the province, and for Scotland the nation.

> "You state, that there is hardly a county in England that does not think itself overlooked, and "that they do not appeal to their separate *nationalities.*" Scotland is a *nation*, and possessed of all that constitutes a nation - a regalia, a

> peerage, a church, a code of laws, and the institutions dependent upon their possession. She therefore has a *nationality* to appeal to. But what county of England or Scotland is in present possession, or has even the memory of a nationality? None. Permit me to say your argument does not apply."[27] [original emphasis].

Religion was, of course, another important distinguishing characteristic of Scottish nationality. Henry Inglis argued in one of the Association's tracts that it was Presbyterianism which was the essential difference between England and Scotland : "The maintenance of Presbyterianism is so interwoven with the noblest passages of Scottish history, that the extinction of the former is a certain consequence of the extinction of the latter."[28] John Grant also argued for the maintenance of the distinctive governing of Scottish religion :

> "Patronage, forced upon the people by a foreign majority has caused schism after schism, until the Disruption rent the Church of the nation in two, and forced us to subscribe three millions for the maintenance of that form of church government solemnly agreed to be preserved by the people when the union farce was enacted."[29]

If Presbyterianism was interfered with, then the likelihood was that it would make Scotland more at risk from Popery, it was argued.

Such statements were made to distinguish the Scottish nation from the English nation. However the movement explicitly made the point that it was not racist. P. E. Dove argued that there were two definitions of nationality - the first concerned race, the second concerned reason, the NAVSR was for the latter :

> "Whoever - whatever man - whether he be black, white, red, or yellow, the moment he identifies with the institutions of Scotland, that moment he became a member of the Scottish nation, and Caledonia must throw around him the mantle of protection.
> (Applause).
>
> We do not want Members of Parliament to represent our race, the race can represent itself; we want members to represent our laws, our institutions and our administration."[30]

Dove was the assistant to the Free Churchman Hugh Miller on The Witness[31], and thus a tangible link between Scottish grievances and the Disruption was apparent. In an address

to the House of Commons, written in 1855, the demand for the recreation of this office of Secretary of State for Scotland was reiterated, but it was made clear that this was not an expression of anti-Englishness :

> "The Council of this Association, while strenuously asserting the rights and honour of their native country, most explicitly disclaim any but the most friendly feeling towards England. It is their sincere prayer that no such feeling may ever rise between the two countries, and if from misrepresentation or misconception, any Member of your Honourable House should believe otherwise, it is hoped that such an impression will be at once discarded as unworthy the intelligence and good feeling of the Scottish people."[32]

The Scottish Rights Association was clearly lacking xenophobic nationalism, but was adamant in its principle for the better government of Scotland. The Scottish Rights Association stood to maintain not the letter but the spirit of the Treaty of Union.[33] It did not wish to damage the Westminster Parliament, but in fact wanted to increase the number of Scottish members. However the Association was strongly against the "centralising principle" which, it argued, had occurred with "the merging of the Institutions of Scotland into those of England."[34] This is the heart of the Scottish Rights Association's critique of the governing of Scotland. The Association joined the anti-centralisation bandwagon, which was active for non-national reasons in England, to defend local government. In letter IV of a series of letters to Palmerston, William Burns argued that he was a "fan of local government" and that he "had long been convinced that such a system [centralisation] is peculiarly opposed to the true interests of my native country."[35] In a later tract the Association dealt directly with the issue of centralised government :

> "Undoubtedly the greatest problem of the present age is, - how far the central government of a nation should directly interfere with matters affecting the social or material interests of the people?"
>
> "The Association for the redress of Scottish Grievances wish nothing more than a just observance of the Treaty of Union, and to prevent the crushing policy of centralisation, which has placed Scotland in a position little better than Yorkshire or any other English county."[36]

James Grant sent out warnings of the effects of centralisation on the states of Europe :

> "Centralisation hurled Louis Phillipe from the throne of France, Centralisation plunged Hungary in woe and Austria in war, Centralisation blotted Poland from the map of Europe, and Venice and Lombardy from the States of Italy.

> Centralisation is the curse of modern Europe; let us be aware that it does not become the curse of Britain.
>
> It has disgraced and demoralised Scotland, it has depopulated her highlands; it has violated her laws and subverted her institutions; it has levelled the kingdom of the Bruces and Stuarts to the rank of an English county..."[37]

The Boards of Customs and Excise, the Scottish Mint, the Scottish Household had been abolished and not replaced. The separate revenue returns for Scotland had been abolished in 1851; the Stamp Office had been centralised in London, and many other instances where some of the more obvious layers of government had been stripped.[38] These were all indicators of the creeping grip of Westminster. There was a strong distrust of centralisation - of concentrating all in the capital - and of "functionary government", where paid officials, either in the civil service or on Boards of control, administered Westminster government. The Scottish Rights Association proclaimed that :

> "The question is one, then, between self-government, local administration and action, generally, on the one hand, and centralisation, with its necessary accompaniment of *functionaryism* , on the other. England, Scotland and America exemplify the former; France and the Continental states exemplify the latter."[39]

The Association's worry was for how long Scotland could resist centralisation

And this was the governmental structure the Association wished Great Britain to adopt, a Scottish Secretary of State in an harmonious House of Commons, with re-emphasis upon of a powerful local state. Dominating their thinking was the real fear that the British state would succumb to the temptation of centralisation. In fact, even critics of the Scottish Rights Association, those who argued that the Union of 1707 did incorporate separate identities within a full union of equals, still feared centralisation and the perpetuation of '*functionaryism*'. One critic feared that a Scottish Parliament would increase centralisation. As an alternative, this 'Scotchman's' answer was the need for a different form of centralisation - one that dispensed with Boards and *functionaryism*. Instead it was centralisation which went hand-in-hand with strengthened local government :

> "The existence of a strong central executive power, designed to *protect* the subject in the exercise of his freedom, combined to an almost unlimited encouragement to *local* legislation, are essential features of an enlightened, liberal system of Government.
> (...)

> Centralisation, then, in its true sense, is essential to good *government*; but local action, and local appointments are equally essential to good *legislation*"[40] [original emphasis]

This 'Scotchman' wished to diminish the number of state appointed functionaries in all three kingdoms, and with reference to Scotland, "the superintendence of a popularly elected local council is much more efficacious than that of a distant Home-Secretaryship."[41]

> "It is to this worship of state functionaries that France is indebted for its political slavery. The all but complete destruction of Municipal Government in that lively, happy, and [now] unhappy country, is an example of the justly dreaded system of imperial centralisation - the appointment by the *state*, in the different localities, of Government officials to manage *local* affairs."[42] [original emphasis]

So although it argued against centralisation, the NAVSR, according to this commentator, would increase centralisation by taking power away from the municipalities and giving it to a Secretary of State for Scotland, a functionary of the central state. Both this one critic and the Scottish Rights Association were concerned that any tendency away from local power, and arguably the Boards of Control were the thin edge of this wedge, was going to result in standardisation through Westminster to the detriment of Scotland's distinctiveness and fair return from the Union. Centralisation, which made slow gains from mid-century, before ultimate success in universal elementary education in the 1870s and a Scottish Office in the 1880s, was the evil of the Scottish Rights Association. Equally John Steill, one of the few of the Associations pamphleteers to demand an independent Scottish parliament, was ultimately concerned with the dangers of centralisation at Westminster. He argued for "the re-establishment in Scotland of a native Legislature, based on Scottish principles, and devoted to Scottish interests." But his premise was not so much on Scotland's ancient sovereignty, but on the chance to improve the governing of Scotland : "... I would cling to no thing, merely because it was Scottish, but because it was good and true; and on this I would be my own judge."[43]

The resistance of centralisation is the key to understanding the kind of state the Scottish Rights Association demanded for the Scottish nation. Its effective aim was to ensure power remained with the local state, but that a Secretary of State would allow such matters that required consideration at Westminster to receive more effective attention. At this

level, then, we have the first clue to our understanding of why the Scottish Rights Association should be so explicit in its support for the Union. If everyday government remained effectively local, Westminster would rarely enter the equation; likewise neither did the Union.

Now that the nature of the state which the NAVSR demanded for the Scottish nation has been established, it is possible to understand the particular use made of the symbols of the Scottish ethnie in this mid-century period. An interesting example in the present context was the Earl of Eglinton's Banquet held on September 18th 1854.

It is often said that a picture can convey a thousand words. In contrast, the quote below - 317 words - weaves a wonderful picture of the symbols of mid-nineteenth century national identity, at its most indulgent :

> "The great national banquet in the honour of the Earl of Eglinton, President of the Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, took place on Wednesday evening, when upwards of 600 Associates from various parts of the kingdom sat down to sumptuous entertainment in the City Hall, which was splendidly decorated for the occasion. At the east end, and behind the chairman's table, were suspended two royal standards of Scotland, one on each side of the organ, attached to blue covered staves, with ornamented yellow coloured tops and rich tassels. The end of the hall was also tastefully adorned with wreaths of flowers and evergreens. At the back of the croupier's chair, at the west end of the hall, and behind the gallery, a Union Ensign of the United Kingdom was suspended on the wall, with wreaths of evergreens and flowers on either side. The north and south large windows were draped with curtains of the tartan of the Association, and between the windows, pending from the curtains, were festoons of evergreens, interspersed with flowers. On the north side the St Andrews standard was suspended from a dark blue flag-staff, with carved top, tinted yellow. In front of the platform, at which sat the Chairman, were the Royal Arms of Scotland, admirably painted on canvas; and to the right and left were the well-known armorial bearings of the Earl of Eglinton and the Duke of Montrose. Underneath were festoons of heather and evergreens. On the side railings of each side of the Chair, and fronting the assemblage below, were four Lochaber axes and four claymores of admirable workmanship, with targets to match; and besides these grim emblems of the rough play of olden times, were some tokens of the more peaceful game of modern days, in the shape of curling stones, of finished workmanship, with brooms to match, not forgetting the fine old national amusement of golf."[44]

The standard of St Andrews, the Royal Arms of Scotland, four claymores, and the Union Ensign of the United Kingdom : the glorification of the nationality of Scotland, but under

the umbrella of the Union. At the Banquet the Duke of Montrose proposed the first toast, which was a traditional one, to the Queen, but nevertheless interesting for the European context he outlined :

> "It is one of the most pleasing characteristics of this time that loyalty is diffused unbounded throughout the land; notwithstanding all those changes which we have seen on the Continent, and those great disturbances which have shaken both countries and monarchies, her Majesty remains strong in the attachment of her people, and in England, still more in Scotland - (applause) - universal loyalty prevails. (Cheers). Gentleman, Scotland has always been famous for her loyalty ... "Her Majesty the Queen."[45]

The toast was drunk with all the honours, "followed by the National Anthem on the organ, and 'Hail to Victoria' by Mr Muir." In the speech of the Duke of Montrose, who took the chair, the principle of government by the local municipalities was again stressed :

> "The principle of centralisation is a principle entirely foreign to the constitution of this country. It belongs to foreign lands, it belongs to a system of government where the head of the government is autocratic, but does not belong to a free constitution which has been nursed by independent and by local government, which has found in its municipal corporations in the early instances of history to have been some of the great leading obstacles to power, that have been the first pioneers in the way of liberty and commercial freedom, and which at this day is still the great principle of our free and liberal institutions. (cheers)"[46]

Centralisation, therefore, was regarded as a breach of the Articles of the Union, a 'breach of contract', as one article referred to it. It is again clear that the NAVSR was responding to challenges to Scotland's ability to govern its own territory, and a strong local government was regarded as vital component of this structure.

However the NAVSR was never widely supported by enough influential people, and it was soon to dissolve itself. The Council of the Association met in Falkirk on 20 January 1855 to discuss future action. At that meeting a resolution was unanimously adopted whereby "in the present state of the affairs of the country, and particularly the position of Great Britain, in regard to foreign powers" the Council decided to abstain from petitioning the House of Commons, "until a more suitable period shall arrive for the discussion of domestic questions."

"We do not forgo our claims as Scotsmen; but we forbear from urging them prominently in an exigency, common to the whole United Kingdom."[47]

Despite this resolution the 'Address to English and Irish Members of Parliament', previously agreed to, was already printed, and its circulation proceeded. The circular stated that petitions to Parliament upon the issue of Scottish Rights had already been made by the Convention of Royal Burghs, the Magistrates and and Town Councils of Edinburgh and Glasgow and many other town councils throughout Scotland. But the Association was in no way committed to distracting the House of Commons when the concerns of foreign affairs were pressing. Loyalty to Her Majesty and British patriotism were stronger than the demand for Scottish grievances when, because of the Crimean War, a choice had to be made.

By 1856 the Association had collapsed. According to Hanham it was killed by a mixture of the war, the growing willingness of the government to listen to Scottish complaints, and the instability which the wide and heterogeneous membership brought.[48] A gap then existed in the organisation of nationalist expression. The field was then left to particular, *ad hoc* celebration of nationalism. William Burns, for example, had already formed a St Andrews Society in 1854 in Glasgow, while in 1858, under his editorship, an appeal was made for all parties to join together to demand an increase in the number of Scottish M.P.s. The next major occasion of nationalist expression was the movement to built a monument to William Wallace, to be discussed in chapter nine.

The NAVSR was the body which led society into a general understanding of its national identity in mid-century. It mobilised many facets of the Scottish ethnie in its pursuit of better administration of Scotland under the terms of the Union. The whole spectrum of the Scotland's historical lucky-dip was dredged up, in three years of intense activity, to proclaim the independence of Scottish civil society and thus attempt to hold back the tide of centralisation. But what else of the rest of the 1830-1860 period? How did others interpreted the Scottish ethnie and so define Scottish nationality? The purpose of chapter nine is to analyse in more detail the rhetoric used to celebrate particular elements of the Scottish ethnie. This will be different from the forgoing analysis of the Scottish Rights Association because the focus will be on particular icons, outwith the context of a political project, and because it will, to a greater extent, include involvement from all classes in society.

1 Mackenzie, W.J.M. (1978) Political Identity, Penguin, Middlesex : 31.
2 Mackenzie (1978) : 37.
3 Mackenzie (1978) : 117.
4 Cf. Anderson, Benedict (1983) Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Verso, London, for the use of common communication for common 'imagination'; but also note how we need to be told 'who we are', that is, the importance of hegemonic dominance.
5 Grant, James (n.d.) "Nemo Me Imusse Lacesset!", Scottish Rights Association, vol. I : 170.
6 Major Scott of Gala, reported in his speech to a meeting of the Associates of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (n.d.) n.p. [NLS : Scottish Rights Association, Vol. II].
7 Ian [Grant, John] "Centralisation", Edinburgh Advertiser, April 13, 1852.
8 Grant, John "Justice to Scotland", 20 April, 1852.
9 Justice to Scotland. Report of the First Public Meeting of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, held in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the evening of November 2, 1853. p. 4. [N. L. S. : NE.20.f.14(3)].
10 Justice to Scotland. Report of the Great Public Meeting of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights, held in the City Hall, Glasgow, December 15, 1853 : p. 5 [N. L. S. : NE.20.f.14(4)].
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Chapter Nine
Icons & Rhetoric :
The Monuments of National Identity

In the 1830-1860 period, there were three prime events which concentrated the collective mind of the Scottish nation and forced it to define its national identity. The first occasion was the death of Sir Walter Scott in 1832, followed by the debate over a suitable memorial to him, culminating in the completion of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh in 1846. The second occasion was the the centenary of the birth of Robert Burns in 1859. This led to a widescale outpouring of national sentiment and gave mid-century society the opportunity to re-interpret the life of the eighteenth century poet. The third important focus of national sentiment was the construction of a national monument to Sir William Wallace, begun in 1856 and finally inaugurated in 1869. The year 1856 also saw an attempt to built a monument to Wallace and Robert Bruce in Edinburgh, both events, importantly, explicitly defined Scotland's relationship in the Union of 1707 with England. Finally, the National Monument on Calton Hill, and the various attempts to complete it, will tell us much about the changing rhetoric of Scottish nationalism in the nineteenth century. It should be kept in mind here that, as Marinell Ash has said, the building of monuments says more about the current state of attitudes than any idea about honouring past 'heroes'.[1] By analysing the rhetoric of each of these icons it is possible to understand more fully the arguments of the Scottish Rights Association, and the nature of the nation-state axis delineated in chapters two, six and seven.

(I) The Commemoration of Sir Walter Scott : Obituaries & Monuments

By examining the obituaries of Sir Walter Scott the dominant contemporary interpretation of his life becomes clear. Obituaries can be honest, but rarely are they uncomplimentary. An obituary is 'original' only when it is idiosyncratic. An obituary is the documenting of a life - it requires to be succinct. An obituary will always focus on what are perceived to be the most important events or achievements in a public person's life, or it will concentrate wholly on, what are again perceived as, the wider impact of that life on others. Therefore obituaries rarely differ; they reflect a common consensus on the role in society or the impact on society of the public figure - albeit a positive, glorified reflection. But if, as it is fair to suggest, the glossing of a life is usually the interpretation widely believed, then the justification of the value of this source is straightforward.

Literary criticism, as an intellectual approach, has dominated interpretations of the life of Scott. It has done so to such a degree that temporal changes in the views of contemporaries have been truncated and Scott has been kaleidoscoped through the fictional characters he created. By examining instead the obituaries, the focus is on Scott's contemporaries, not the fictional characters. This enables a closer fit to be made with the wider societal understanding of national identity.

Because of the success of his writings and his widespread fame, the biographical details of Scott's life went generally unrelated in the obituaries. Instead the line taken was the wider influence of Scott on Scotland. There were four recurring themes which the obituary writers employed : (1) Scott the 'genius author' - as Scotland's contribution to some sort of nineteenth century Enlightenment - Scott and the 'civilised world'; (2) Scott as a great British literary figure; (3) Scott as the Universal Man who wrote for the 'common man'; and (4) Scott as both the great chronicler of Scotland's past and the writer who instigated pride in and recognition of the Scottish nation.

(a) Scott the 'genius author' and the Civilized World

In general the obituary writers elevated Scott to a position of centrality to world civilisation because of the believed genius of his intellect. In the estimation of the Weekly Journal, Scott's "magnificent, and perhaps unrivalled, genius"[2] was the source of his fame. Or again, as the Evening Post remarked on noting the death of both Goethe and Sir Walter Scott in 1832, "- and how much mightier the latter."[3] This estimation of Scott's place being at the pinnacle of modern civilisation was also taken up by The Scotsman :

> "Scotland may well mourn the loss of the man who had spread the glory of her literature far and wide; but the events will awaken a feeling of grief in every part of the globe to which civilisation extends. It is the extinction of a mind of unrivalled gifts - the eclipse of a light whose splendour has filled the world. In an age fruitful of great writers, Sir Walter towered by the force of his genius, to a height which no other person reached."[4]

It was the sheer genius of the man, irrespective of his country of birth, which in the estimation of his contemporaries meant his place as an author was amongst the great intellectuals of the world. It was his genius, neutrally evaluated, that led them to place Scott as part of the world's 'high culture', although there was little attempt, if any, to regard Scott as a descendant of the Enlightenment. Therefore the view of Daiches, amongst others, that Scott was a true descendant of the Scottish Enlightenment because of his belief in progress, rationality, moderation and reconciliation, does not

to square with these particular sources.[5] Scott is quoted as being a friend of Ferguson, whom he had looked up to for upwards of thirty years (Ferguson died in 1816)[6], and the young Scott even attended the lectures of Hume (nephew of David Hume) at the University. However the obituaries never compared Scott to Ferguson, Hume, Robertson, or any of the prominent Scottish intellectuals of the eighteenth century.

Nevertheless, Scott was regarded as truly a world figure. The Edinburgh Evening Post estimated that his death would be mourned everywhere :

> "... the tidings that the Author of Waverley has paid the debt of nature, will be felt, not as a British - not as a European - but as a calamity which has befallen the human race."[7]

The Dumfries Courier also expected widespread grief at the news of Scott's death due to the popularity of his works in the 'civilized world' - again testament to his (perceived) pre-eminent intellect. The Courier reinforced this proposition by suggesting that the enormous world-wide popularity of Scott would mean his fame would never die :

> "Wherever civilisation has penetrated, his works are patent to the whole human race; and will continue to spread a charm over the surface of society, delight a smile, or invoke a sigh, immortalize and endear the land of the "mountain and flood", sublimate, subdue, and electrify by turn millions on millions, to the latest posterity"[8]

That Scott was the property of the world, and not just of Scotland was also argued by the Edinburgh Observer and New North Britain. This newspaper did regard the death of Scott as a national loss "and, as such, ought it not to call forth the public demonstration of a nation's sorrow"; but still the loss belonged to more that just the Scots :

> "Such men are few and far between. They are the great lights of the world, and when they depart, and their songs cease to be heard, we feel as if the earth grew dark and silent"[9]

(b) Scott as British Literary Figure

As well as being an author of the civilised world, Scott was equally regarded as the leading British literary figure of his time. Rather than his place of birth being irrelevant (as the 'genius in the civilised world'), this time Scott's nationality was

partially subsumed within his British identity. In his speech to the health of Sir Walter (at a dinner held by Mr. Knowles on 21st September 1832, cruelly and ironically, after Scott, unknowing to the guests, lay dead that afternoon), Sir Daniel Sandford described Scott as a 'British Poet' and one who belonged to the exalted world status of Homer and Shakespeare. But the important point for our concerns with expressions of nationalism is that although Scott was British, he was also regarded as identifiably Scotland's contribution to British literature. This point was explicitly made by Thomas Atkinson, a correspondent to the Glasgow Herald :

> "Yet, while his fame is the property of the world, as his writings are the heir-looms which we divide with the kingdom that has given us part in the heritage of Shakespeare - his ashes are the right of his own 'mountainland' - of Scotland - and there they must rest - more sacredly guarded by our own veneration than even those of "Him of Avon" by his own solemn adjuration"[10]

Thus, whereas Shakespeare was England's contribution to British literature, Scott was Scotland's offering : both men were thus treated as expressions of nationhood within a wider, British national identity.

(c) Scott as the Universal Man

Scott was presented in a number of the obituaries as a champion of egalitarianism and humanitarianism - as the proprietor of some sort of (superior) Scottish 'spirit' or 'ethos'. Rather than Scott being a descendant of the writers of the Enlightenment, his 'enlightened views' appealed at a lower, more popular level. According to The Schoolmaster, the writings of Scott "embody the Philosophy of Humanity, and the spirit of our own national history, with that finer spirit, expansive as life, and enduring as time, which pervades all that he has written."[11] Scott was perceived as writing about Scotland's core, about the ordinary Scot, about the D.N.A., as it were, which made 'the Scot'.

This 'Scottish spirit' helps explain this third strand in contemporaries interpretation of Scott, that of the Author of Waverley as the Universal Man - the man for all men. It is perhaps rather surprising to conceive of this famous nineteenth century Tory, a willing recipient of the patronage of the Duke of Buccleuch so to become Sheriff-Depute for the County of Selkirkshire[12], as an inheritor of the republican traditions of Burns; but it was really the immense popularity of Scott which persuaded his contemporaries to deny Scott's politics as best they could and to cast him as the 'universal man'.

This spirit of popularity and accessibility for all classes in the writings of Scott is captured by the following quote in the Glasgow Herald, which I present without further comment :

> "'There is nothing', said a weaver in a period of great manufacturing distress, 'there is nothing that keeps our spirits from entirely sinking but reading Sir Walter Scott'"[13]

Scott was represented as being both a writer for the people and a writer of the people. His reputation had reached all men because, the assumption being, of the sheer quality of his work. He was a literary great because he was populist. His Romantic tales of Chivalry ensured mass sales. His novels quickly went to reprints and even his narrative poems, such as Lay of the Last and Marmion, sold over 50,000 copies.[14] Therefore because his writings seemed to appeal to all men (and obviously women as well) he was represented as being a writer for all 'men'.

This is how the Edinburgh Evening Post explained the universal popularity of Scott (incorporating a slight dig at Shakespeare's patronising scenes written to appease the groundlings) :

> "The realm of literature which he subjected to his sway, was one which could be retaining by pleasure, not the intelligent few, but the many headed multitude - and that had never been accomplished by his great predecessors, without admission of scenes and sentiments he scorned to make use of."[15]

The Scotsman also pursued this line - Scott, the man for all men :

> "His works overleaped the common boundaries of language and clime, in a manner hitherto unexampled. Drawing from the depths of human nature, he wrote to all men, all classes, and all parties, and his fame, like his genius, is UNIVERSAL"[16]

Again this point of popularity being combined with the universality of his writings, meant that the 'common man' then came to characterise Scott's typical reader. This connection was also made clear in the obituary written for The Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, where Scott was presented as the fond friend of every-man :

> "Kings may bow their heads, and Mighty men pass away unregarded, if not unnoticed, but the death of Sir Walter Scott comes strongly home to the sympathies of every human being that ever heard of his name, and understood but the least part of what that immortal name signified"[17]

But Scott was also represented as being a writer of the people. The substance of his writings were characterized as being not merely sympathetic, but to be mirror images of THE PEOPLE. Briefly, as this theme will be picked up further in the next section, Scott was acclaimed as the depository and the projector of the true, rustic, 'ordinary' Scottish character. Sir Walter Scott's choice of 'ordinary' Scots as his heroes was emphasised in an enlightening argument in The Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine as it tried to cope with the problem of Scotland's literary hero being a Tory within a Whig dominated literary society, and of Scott being a Tory fount of Jacobitism to boot! The Schoolmaster denied Scott's Toryism, but in order to do so it had to link Scott's writings to the politically neutral, but emotionally valued, concepts of 'humanity' and the 'ordinary' man :

> "Convinced that in heart and mind, in principle and affection, and (with a few incidental and casual aberrations into which he was hurried or betrayed) in conduct also, this illustrious person belonged to no state party, we would redeem his venerable and beloved name from the political party which claims it - and sound to a Crusade which should "conquer his tomb from the infidels". If SHAKESPEARE deserves the epithet of the myriad minded, to SIR WALTER SCOTT belongs that of the myriad-hearted; and with this large natural character, it will not be difficult to shew that he essentially belonged to the People - to Mankind, and that the tendency of all his writings has been to enlighten and expand the minds of men, by making them neither Whig or Tory, but something infinitely better than both."[18]

This defence of Scott's politics is a great deal more strident than the only other newspaper obituary to deal with Scott's Toryism, the Dumfries Courier, which confined itself to passing a quote from James Hogg : "he was no man's enemy, however much [we] may dislike his principles"[19]

To develop this point, when The Schoolmaster was obliged to attribute any political proclivities to Scott, it labelled him a Radical. This was especially for his treatment of Kings and "... the law, as a profession, is the butt of the constant sly hints and direct thrusts of this UNIVERSAL LEVELLER", it claimed. In addition he was apparently also good at insulting churchmen, statesmen and,

> "to the modern country gentry, the lower ranks of the rural aristocracy, and the worshipful members of the county quorum, he shows little more mercy. It is among the poor or the unregarded that we are taught to look for shrewdness, intelligence, disinterested attachment, and patriotism, which is not ambition or flimsy disguise. ... If all this be evidence as Toryism, it is the Toryism after our own hearts"[20]

By representing Scott's politics as 'Radical', meaning a supporter of the 'common man', the Schoolmaster was thus able to deny the Toryism of Scott and set up this image of Scott as a hero to all.

(d) Scott and the Scottish Nation

The link between Scott and the ordinary man, and Scott as the embodiment of the Scottish spirit, was even more explicitly made in relation to 'Scott and Scotland'. To varying degrees the newspapers concentrated on Scott as the both the creator and the guardian of Scottish national identity. This is the main line taken by the Edinburgh Evening Courant. After firstly describing the importance of Scott to the civilised world in general, and then giving a brief potted biography, the Courant then launches into its main theme : the important role played by Scott in maintaining Scotland's heritage :

> "... the Waverley novels will be prized by Scotsmen as permanent depositories of their language and manners, and of the genuine Scots character, which is fading before the fast encroaching tide of southern refinement. The classical language of Scotland, though it be discarded by the polite and the wealthy, has still its own simple graces ... How forcibly did he stretch the ludicrous points, as well as the loftier features of the Scots character, with all the vigour and truth of nature, without the slightest approach to caricature, even in his broadest and most rustic characters, while his dramatic scenes comprise the whole treasures of the language - the pure ore of expression without the alloy. He has given permanence in his immortal works to the fading images of the olden times, and has completed a gallery of portraits essentially Scottish, on which we daily gaze with still increasing adoration and pleasure."[21]

Likewise the Caledonian Mercury concentrated wholly in its obituary on this theme that Scott was the true and faithful guardian of Scotland's heritage.

> "[Scott] boldly struck into a new path, and awakening the dying cadence of those strains which had gladdened "Scotland's elder time", as well as evoking all that is most grand, gorgeous and romantic in the past history or traditions of a long history singularly rich in recollections of heroic daring or chivalric adventure, he at once introduced to us a new and unexplained region in the realm of fiction, and imported to the creations or rather reproductions of his genius the inexpressible charm of a glorious and indestructible nationality. ... No man, perhaps, ever wrote so much, as a poet and a novelist, and yet absolutely speaking, invented so little.[22]

The Edinburgh Evening Post takes such ideas one stage further by proclaiming the link between Scott's so-called reproductions and true representations of the Scottish character and what it terms 'Scottish patriotism' :

> "Scotland is glorious in the annals of patriotism, as the birth place of Wallace and Robert Bruce. She is now equally glorious in the annals of literature, as the country of Sir Walter Scott. "To make a third he joins the freer two"; and although we had nothing more to boast of, the triumvirate are in themselves a host; - nor has the last been the least of the three in benefiting and adorning our native land. Our hills, our valleys, our history, and our manners, are consecrated in his immortal pages. ... In fact, the benefits which Sir Walter Scott has conferred, and will continue to confer, although in ashes, on Scotland, are incalculable. Never more, while the world lasts, can we be a land unrenowned. In the political scale of nations we may rise, or we may fall. In his pages, we are a glorious people, and a favoured spot forever! Cervantes has done much for Spain, and Shakespeare for England, but not a tithe of what Sir Walter Scott has accomplished for us. In each of these great writers we find many localities sanctified by their genius, in their respective countries; but that of Scott pervades every corner of his native land."[23]

The Glasgow Herald continued in this theme to show that by his romanticising of Scotland's past and his success in raising the profile of Scotland, Scott had dragged Scotland hanging onto Scott's own coat-tails into the civilised world :

> "When, too, we reflect on the enhancement in the scale of enlightened nations which the deceased effected for his native land, we are almost disposed to feel as if the firmest stay of Scottish respectability in the great world of civilised society has been struck down"[24]

These last two quotes in particular show us that what the obituary writers never do is use Scott as as symbol for Scottish independence. Nations refer to 'native land', not self governing nation-states, well at least not for Scotland. The four themes identified from Scott's obituaries are, in one sense, too contradictory to refer to a self-governing nation-state (however defined). Scott was Scotland's contribution to Britain's literary heritage and to the literary achievements of Europe and the wider civilised world; Scott was perceived as preserving and presenting the essence of Scotland's past, and as such produced pride amongst ordinary Scots and wider acclaim of the beauties of Scotland (land of the "mountain and flood"). Scott's immediate legacy was pride in the Scottish nation, but at a number of complementary levels. Scotland as a younger brother in the United Kingdom was one identity; Scotland as a contributor to some notion of a European intellect, and as a 'fully qualified member state' of the civilised world, was another identity; but there was also Scotland as the great country of equality where Scott followed in the tradition of Burns that a "man's a man for all that", which developed into a fully blown 'egalitarian myth'. These four Scottish identities were explicitly nationalist ones, but - we should note - where a separate

nation-state was never on the agenda. As the Dumfries Courier wrote in its obituary of Scott :

> "Patriotism and valour are undoubtedly virtues of the highest order - virtuous which are no more conspicuous than among themselves - yet, when we divest ourselves of the prejudices engendered by the geographical distinctions of rivers, seas and mountains, and regard the different nations of the globe as members of the same great family, we are often forced to doubt whether the world has been more benefited or injured by those statesmen and warriors who in all ages have engrossed so large a share of its honours and applause"[25]

These four themes were complementary because the concept of nation-state was not an issue for Scotland - but the acceptance and equality of the Scottish nation in Britain and the wider world was all important. The second section of this paper will now examine how perceptions of Scott, and the four complementary themes identified, were maintained or were changed over the next fourteen years, the time it took to complete the Scott Monument in Edinburgh.

(e) The Scott Monument and the Memory of Scott

Immediately after the death of Scott, a select band of gentlemen and noblemen met in the rooms of the Royal Institution to set up a committee to raise a subscription for the erection of a monument to his memory in the Metropolis of Edinburgh. This preliminary gathering was quickly followed by a meeting held on the 5th October, where met, according to The Scotsman, one of the largest assemblages of gentlemen ever in the Grand Assembly Room, and "the most conspicuous in terms of rank and talent which ever assembled in Edinburgh."[26] James Skene, appointed as a member, and later Secretary, of the Committee, estimated in his Reminiscences that around 1200 turned out for the 'Great Meeting.'[27] An interesting feature of this gathering, as The Scotsman pointed out, was that those assembled were estimated to be of every political party. Scott's Toryism was no hindrance to the respect shown from all shades of the political spectrum. This really was a complete gathering of all the 'respectable' power in Edinburgh, where rivals conformed to a common cause and celebrated a national hero.

This meeting is an important occasion for analysing the rhetoric of national identity in this period. The purpose of the meeting was to satisfy the feeling that a monument should be built to perpetuate Scott's memory. Therefore the meeting had to signal to the population at large the reasons why they should subscribe. It was necessary in the first instance to display political unanimity, then the job was to delineate the

importance of Scott to Scotland and to Scottish national identity. The Lord Provost, authorized by the Magistrate and Council to subscribe in their name such a sum as he may think proper, presided over the meeting.[28] The young Duke of Buccleuch, on his first public appearance, spoke of the fame of Scott. In concurring with this view, the Lord Provost related that he had been asked by many members of the Peerage and gentry of the country, who could not attend, that resolutions be passed to enable a lasting testimony to Scott from his admirers be created. When the Duke of Buccleuch carried on to propose the first resolution he did so in terms of the work this warm-hearted, kindly man had done - "who had always laboured for the welfare of Scotland." Sir Walter Scott's patriotism "was not out of declamation; his love to his own country was exhibited both in public and in private, and would be seen in every word or act of his life."

In seconding the motion to built a monument in Edinburgh, Professor Wilson remarked that the loss that would be felt throughout the whole of Britain, despite Scott's fame as a Scottish Patriot :

> "That great and generous country, too, with which they [Scotland] had long running a race of generous rivalry, England, felt the same depth of sorrow of heart at the loss which human nature was about to sustain - the mighty heart of London beat with sorrow at the anticipated doom."

This is unusual for any symbol of national identity in that it was so well renowned by, as it were, the opposition. An important feature of the Scottish interpretation of Scott, as a focal point of reference in its nationality, was that Scott, especially from an English point of view, belonged to British national identity. Scott's chivalric writing and his romanticisation of the highlands endeared him to polite English society and the English aristocratic leisure industry, which was approaching its mid-century prime. For the Scottish frame of reference, this meant that Scott could not be appropriated solely for Scottish use - the love of Scott was polygamous, a claim to be shared with the world.

At the meeting, the Lord Provost then moved that a Committee be formed, with power to sub-commit. Smaller Committees were raised for London and for Glasgow[29], and plans were laid to collect subscriptions from abroad. The sum subscribed at the close of the meeting amounted to about £1100, from 24 subscribers of the very highest rank.[30] A glance at the subscription list shows the dominance of the Sub-Committee and Committee and of the contributions by the titled aristocracy, with relatively little

input from the professional or merchant middle class of Edinburgh. However - as we shall see later - this balance of control shifted over the time it took to complete the monument.

The resolutions were then published in various forms, especially the newspapers, but also as as part of appeals made by the Committee to countries around the world.[31] This fits with the belief held of the obituary writers and the Monument Committee, as we have seen, that the death of Scott was a sorrow felt in every corner of the civilised world. But what the proposers of the monument wished to emphasise was that not only did Scott's writings make the man famous in the civilised world, but his writings achieved the same for Scotland. As Sir Daniel Sandford argued in Glasgow :

> "[His works] raised our country to a proud equality of fame with the most renowned nations of ancient or modern times - and they had done more than history itself to throw light and splendour round her annals ..."[32]

Soon after the formation of a Committee for the Erection of the Scott Monument in Edinburgh, there was also formed - 9th November, 1833 - a London Committee with the aim of raising the finances to solve Scott's debts so to forever keep Abbotsford in the ownership of Scott's family and descendants. With the collapse of his publishers, Bannatyne & Co. in 1826, Scott took it upon himself to pay off the debts amounting to approximately £120,000. By the time of his death, Scott's great literary output had allowed him to pay off £70,000. The outstanding £59, 000 owed to his creditors was met by various life insurances that Scott had set up.[33] Obviously, however, this left little if any inheritance for Scott's descendants, although Scott's sister was added to the civil list and received £200 per annum.[34] The London Committee hoped that by raising a subscription they could secure Abbotsford in the hands of Scott's family, as an inheritance, and that would in their estimation be the most apposite memorial :

> "It is thought no memorial can be appropriate to his name, as the permanent maintenance of the house which his residence has rendered classical, and the preservation of a library and collection of national antiquities, which his admirable taste selected, and which his genius made available to works that are in every hand, and have carried the glory of English literature through every civilised region of the earth."[35]

Therefore this London Committee did not think it inappropriate for the English nation to subscribe to a Scottish cause. This was organised by R. A. Dundas as Secretary, and based in the Royal Society of Literature. The Abbotsford Subscription later advertised the formation of its (London) Sub-Committee, with Lord Melville as

Chairman. In the same advert in The Scotsman, they also announced the formation of an Edinburgh Sub-Committee to raise funds for the preservation of Abbotsford and the majority of this Sub-Committee were already involved with the subscription for the monument in Edinburgh. The minutes show the strong sense of identification between England and the Author of Waverley.

> "... the preservation of Abbotsford is of English suggestion. Englishmen have subscribed, and are subscribing, to accomplish this enlarged and liberal act of commemoration, - to entail property in Scotland on a race of Scotsmen; and that it is now requested of Scotsmen to give a favourable consideration to a measure for connecting Abbotsford for ever in the name of WALTER SCOTT. He whose inexhaustible and captivating power of description, has made the lochs, the rivers, the glens, and mountains of Scotland, objects of universal curiosity and admiration, while by a rare and intuitive faculty of penetrating into the recesses of the human mind, and, by possessing the most comprehensive knowledge, and masterly views of the history and antiquity of his country, he has unfolded the Scottish character, and exhibited it in all its genuine variety and dispelled prejudices, and has, with enchanting interest, made it to be familiarly known in every corner of the earth."[36]

That there existed a strong belief that Scott belonged to more than just Scotland, and was in fact part of England's heritage was further made explicit by the (Scottish) Earl of Haddington :

> "Neither will I allow myself to be led away by those, I think not unbecoming, feelings of nationality, that make me proud to think this immortal genius owed his birth to my own native land. Whatever pleasure I may derive from this reflection, it would be most unjust to his fellow-countrymen on this side of the Tweed, not to acknowledge the great exertions they have made; and it must not be forgotten, that that the idea of perpetuating Abbotsford in his family originated with them - it was of English, not of Scottish growth."[37]

This clearly conveys the impression that the English appeal was not just an Anglo-Scottish movement, but an English one. For the mid-nineteenth century Scottish nationalist it was, therefore, impossible to use Scott as an unambiguous symbol of nationhood, when England was highly committed to commemorating the memory of Scott itself - Scott as the tug-of-war nationalist symbol, indeed!

The main centres of subscription activity instigated by this English Abbotsford Subscription were York, Leeds, Cheltenham, Shrewsbury, Brighton, Oxford, Exeter and Edinburgh. They also resolved to take measures to promote foreign contributions "as the works of Sir Walter Scott have obtained a reputation so brilliant and extensive

among foreign nations ..."[38] Thus the Sub-Committee of the Abbotsford Subscription, after having advertised in the British newspapers, contacting 100 principal booksellers in London and the universities, then forwarded copies of the resolutions translated into French, German, and Italian, to bankers and men of letters in the principal towns upon the Continent. Similar communications were made to the Governors of the Presidencies in India and to meetings in New York.[39]

By May 1833, the amount of funds collected by the Edinburgh Committee for the Erection of a Monument to Sir Walter Scott stood at £5,752. 14s., a sum which, apart from £300 from King William IV and £250 from other sources, was wholly raised in Edinburgh.[40] This total included £500 from the Bank of Scotland and other Banks and Banking Companies in Scotland "as a token of their admiration of the honourable feelings which induced him, after his embarrassments of 1826, to dedicate his talents, during the remainder of his life, to ensuring the full payment of his debts"[41] - conscience money if ever there was any. The contributors tended to refer simply to "our distinguished son", or our "illustrious countryman", rather than make any attempts to describe in their view the importance of Scott for Scotland.[42]

With over £5,500 in Committee's bank account, a Sub-Committee was appointed on the 28th November of that year to look into a possible site for the monument.[43] They took two years to report, and ended up proposing nine alternative sites to the General Committee. At the same meeting a vote was taken on the design genre of the monument : an obelisk vs. a Gothic design. For our analysis of the discourse of national identity used in the commemoration of Scott, it is enlightening to be aware of the arguments employed in the decision making process. Out of a list of objections to an obelisk, the second of which was,

> "That an obelisk does not possess, either in style, character, aspect or history, any association whatever with Scotland, or the illustrious Scotsman proposed to be thereby commemorated; and that, on the contrary, for a monumental structure, that of the Gothic style is peculiarly appropriate to this country - beautiful in its outline - capable of the greatest enrichment - of being raised to the most commanding altitude - exclusively and intimately associated with the events, areas, and characters, which occupied the genius of the man whose memory it is desired to honour ..."[44]

The style of architecture was thus chosen to reflect the man - and to also reflect the man's influence on Scotland. This is the important point justifying our analysis of the meetings and appeals behind the construction of the Monument to Scott. Any appeal

for money, debate, or choice was successful if it was the truest reflection of the life and influence of Scott - it was on such terms that decisions were made.

After this meeting, where the vote was in favour of a Gothic design, it was also decided that the architectural structure must comprise room for a statue "of colossal dimensions", something again not possible with an obelisk. Under these provisos, advertisements were placed for the submission of designs, with prizes of 50 guineas for the best three. In reply, 46 different artists and architects sent for inspection 54 plans, consisting of 22 Gothic structures, 11 statues, more or less accompanied with architecture, 14 Grecian temples, 5 pillars, 1 obelisk, and 1 fountain.[45] Again, like the previous report, the Sub-Committee believed that since the monument to Sir Walter Scott was to be built in his native city, it should be erected in the "ancient style of the country, not less desirable for its own intrinsic and most appropriate merits, than for the associations which it inspires, intimately associated as they are with the characters, the eras, and the events, on which he most delighted to dwell."[46] Again we see that the debate over the design is couched in terms of which type of design most accurately reflected what Scott stood for. Even John Steele, the sculptor chosen to create the statue to Scott, and who had recently completed a highly commended likeness of Queen Victoria, was given advice to ensure his work reflected Scotland's pride :

> "That [the] monument must be seen from afar, to arouse the heart-felt feelings of Scotland's sons when they look upon the ancient seat. It must attach the citizen yet more to a home, honoured as the birth-place and adorned by the monument, as one of the greatest and best of men."[47]

In the event, despite the knowledge that more funds would be required, the support of the residents and shopowners, and the centrality and openness of the site, ensured the choice of the east end of Princes Street. All that remained was for the Committee to seek the requisite Act of Parliament and make the arrangements with the tenant and others for construction to begin.[48] As a consequence, on 30th April 1840, at the very meeting at which the choice of site was finalised, the subscription was again re-opened. In an attempt to overcome the Edinburgh public's subscription weariness, when the re-opening of the subscription was put into effect, previous subscribers were asked to contribute a sum equalling one half of their original offering, although few did. In their publication of the list of subscribers to the new appeal, the Committee stated that an independent meeting had been held in the Royal Hotel to form an Auxiliary Committee to help fundraising. This new Committee had resolved to divide Edinburgh up into one hundred districts, in which "a certain number of influential

Gentlemen have undertaken to wait upon the inhabitants of the District, to solicit subscriptions of any amount, however small..."[49] The Auxiliary Committee was formed separately from the Sub-Committee, and their organizer, Mr Dick of the Albion Company, was conscious of the view taken of his group by the "higher ranks" in the Sub-Committee, which, as we have noted, was run by a landed and middle class elite.[50] In fact, by 1844, Lord Cockburn, on behalf of the Sub-Committee, was delighted with this "good practical committee ... of ... respectable tradesmen ... who ... entered on the business in a most business-like way."[51] The plan adopted by the Auxiliary Committee was to provide a schedule to three gentlemen or merchants residing in each district, for them to procure subscriptions in their vicinity, offering to present a 'splendid' engraving of the monument, from a drawing by the architect Mr Kemp, to those who subscribed one guinea or more. In tandem with concerts, theatrical and other amusements, and the offering of engravings and medals, the result was that in a few weeks £1,482, 16s. 10d. had been added to the funds.[52] The Auxiliary Committee continued its activities until the completion of the monument in 1844. In total it collected £2,400, including £100 from Her Majesty Queen Victoria, £50 from the Queen Dowager, and £25 from Prince Albert.[53]

(f) The Laying of the Foundation Stone, 15th August 1840

On the 15th August, 1840, the anniversary of the birth of Sir Walter Scott, the foundation stone to the monument was laid with all due Masonic honour. The Masonic invitation to the ceremony shows the combination of Scottish and Masonic symbols with representations of Scott.[54] The symbols of Scott's Chivalric writings, the armour, harp, bible and flags proclaiming 'Marmion' and 'Veritas Vincit', are there beside a Lion Rampant Standard, wild thistles and a crest of Unicorns.[55] The foundation stone was laid in 1844, and within it was deposited a glass jar containing a range of contemporary newspapers and coinage, plus two plates inscribed with the words of Lord Jeffrey. The second plate read :

"TO THE MEMORY OF SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.
Whose admirable Writings were then allowed
To have given more delight and suggested better feeling
To a larger class of Readers, in every rank of Society
Than those of any other Author,
With the exception of Shakespeare alone,
And which were therefore thought likely to be remembered
Long after this act of Gratitude
On the part of his first generation of Admirers
Should be forgotten"[56]

The impact of the middle class and those of lower rank taking over the collection of subscriptions from the titled aristocracy, was an important theme by the time of the foundation ceremony. Sir William Rae, "in absence of the higher names in the subscription"[57] addressed those assembled by first stressing that Scott's humility was indicative of his patriotism :

> "[Scott], who, with his fame, has set forth an exalted character of his native land, and who, whether he portrayed the character of Kings or nobles of former days, or depicted the homely manners of the simple cottage in those of our own, has invariably made every sentiment subservient to the cause of genuine patriotism, and of high morality and virtue. [loud cheers]"[58]

Rae then recorded the efforts of Mr Dick and the Auxiliary Committee of middle class gentleman, and proclaimed his delight at the level of subscriptions obtained from the lower classes.

> "I hold in my hands a list of such subscribers, containing many hundred names, and in repeated instances showing subscriptions of the smallest sum. In one district of the Cowgate, it appears that forty subscribers only produced £3. 7s., thus showing the infinite trouble that must have attended the business of obtaining them, and at the same time the strong feeling in the very humblest ranks to contribute their mite towards the testimonial of tribute to their distinguished countryman. I verily believe, that if he was alive, he would appreciate these simple subscriptions as more truly complimentary than the donations of his richer friends."[59]

Thus we see once more the image of the Scott as the man for all men *(sic)*. Rae went on to outline the projected finances of the construction, expecting there to be a shortfall of approximately £3,000, but which he hoped would be forthcoming. On that note the speeches were over, the band then commenced playing "Rule Britannia", another salute of seven guns from the battery was fired, and the ceremony was concluded. 'Rule Britannia' had not taken on its twentieth century connotations of English chauvinism, and unproblematically it rounded off this day of Scottish national introspection in the Metropolis of Edinburgh.

The construction of the monument took place between 1840 and 1844. There was little debate concerning the monument during this time, but this changed by the start of 1844 when it was realised there was once again insufficient funds. Thus February 5th 1844 was the scene of yet another meeting to raise additional funds for the monument. Professor Wilson stated that the erection of such a monument was the best expression

of gratitude to one of our greatest benefactors : "... 'Scotland stands where she now does', - as long as she possesses a place and a name among the nations"; Scotland's standing was the legacy of Scott. Wilson warned that if the additional money was not forthcoming then the half-finished monument would be an "indelible reproach on the character of our country.", a theme copied by the Marquess of Breadalbane and Mr Rutherfurd, M. P., in their addresses to the Meeting.[60] As with the sentiments expressed in 1832, the first resolution passed to precipitate the re-opening of the subscription stated : "That the Monument now erecting to the Memory of Sir Walter Scott, ought to excite the patriotic feelings of every Scotsman." In this final appeal for more money the last resort was Scottish patriotism. Patriotism, it was hoped, was to be engendered in the Scottish people both for the fame Scott brought to his native land, and for a nation's pride in the world acclaimed genius of its son. Rutherfurd also referred to Scott making Scotland as celebrated as Shakespeare had done for England. Sir John Hope was sure no Scotsman "whatever his position in society, would but feel proud to add his mite for so worthy and patriotic an object, as the erection of a Monument to Sir Walter Scott."[61] Again we find two of the dominant themes of the discourse : Scott as the Scottish contribution to British literature on a par with Shakespeare contribution to the English nation, and Scott as the author venerated by all, but by especially the lowest classes, for his humanity - Scott as the universal man.

The rest of the £3,000 plus was raised through "several splendid assemblies, under the designation of Waverley Balls." Some were held in Edinburgh, and one in London. It was noted that on these occasions the "elite of the rank, beauty, and fashion of the two cities assembled in vast numbers, and the scenes presented were of the most splendid and striking description." The Waverley Ball in London claimed Prince Albert as Patron, and included many eminent nobleman and famous public figures (such as Charles Dickens) as Stewards. The London Waverley Ball raised £1,000, while a number of smaller Edinburgh Waverley Balls raised roughly a further £1,000 between them.[62] Thus while the titled elite of society seemed to have given up the day-to-day running of the Monument Committee, their willingness to help raise money was still present, albeit in a more social, less committed, way.

The construction of the Monument was finally completed on 26th October 1844. It was inaugurated on the 15th August, 1846 and as at the laying of the foundation stone six years earlier, a great public and Masonic procession took place.[63] The point is that even at the time of Scott's greatest commemoration he did not symbolise Scottish

nationhood over England/Britain. Instead his contemporaries deferred their estimations of Scott and treated him as Shakespeare's younger brother : equal, but second-born - in the same way Scotland and England were brothers-in-arms. Again as before, there was a grand meal in the evening where the prominent dignitaries involved gathered to congratulate themselves and to make the usual toasts to the architect, builders, the original Sub-Committee and the Auxiliary Committee, as well as, of course, their illustrious countryman, Scott.

(II) The Commemoration of Scott : complementary national identities

By closely examining the discourse used to bind together the appeals to commemorate Scott, we have seen the constant re-occurrence of the four themes originally identified in the obituaries. (1) Scott the 'genius author'; Scott and the 'civilised world'; (2) Scott as a great British literary figure; (3) Scott as the Universal Man; and (4) Scott as both the great chronicler of Scotland's past and the writer who instigated pride in and recognition of the Scottish nation. But because he was so greatly venerated in England, and in the world, he was not solely a Scottish icon. How could he be used as a product of Scotland's independent nationhood and therefore a stepping stone to political independence if he was part of England's literary heritage and part of a European enlightenment? Wallace and Bruce were never anything other than Scottish symbols; Scott was shared. The interpretation of Scott, by Scots, in the first half of the nineteenth century was firmly encapsulated in 150 years of union. Sir Walter Scott was a Scottish icon forged in a society locked in a union with England.

In all of the discourses Scott had been taken *a priori* as a symbol of Scotland, but this has been shown to be problematic. If we do accept Scott as a truly 'historical actor', and accept that he has been, and continues to be, used as mirror whereby the Scottish nation sees itself, then we must accept that national identity is not a unitary concept. To be 'Scottish' in the first half of the nineteenth century meant maintaining a number of different identities, four of which have been delineated through our examination of Scott. When we talk of Scottish nationalism in this period, up to and including the formation of the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights in the 1850s, we would be mistaken to use our twentieth century eyes and look only for expressions of anti-Unionism and demands for a Scottish nation-state. That would be wholly mistaken. As the analysis of the discourse employed for the commemoration of Walter Scott has demonstrated, at its fundamentals, Scottish nationalism in the first half of the nineteenth century was all about an independent Scottish nation locked into both the Union with England and the wider 'civilised' world.

(III) The Burns Centenary, 1859

Many of themes in the discourse of celebration employed for Scott had been culled from an earlier view of Robert Burns, none more so, of course, than the cult of the common man. In their own ways, each author was the 'universal leveller'. The romantic and the ordinary, the noble and the pauper, both shaped Scotland's celebration of its most renowned literary sons. In 1859, one hundred years after the birth of Burns, a series of celebrations took place throughout Scotland, England and the world. It has been estimated that in total 872 formal events took place, and their breakdown was as follows[64] :

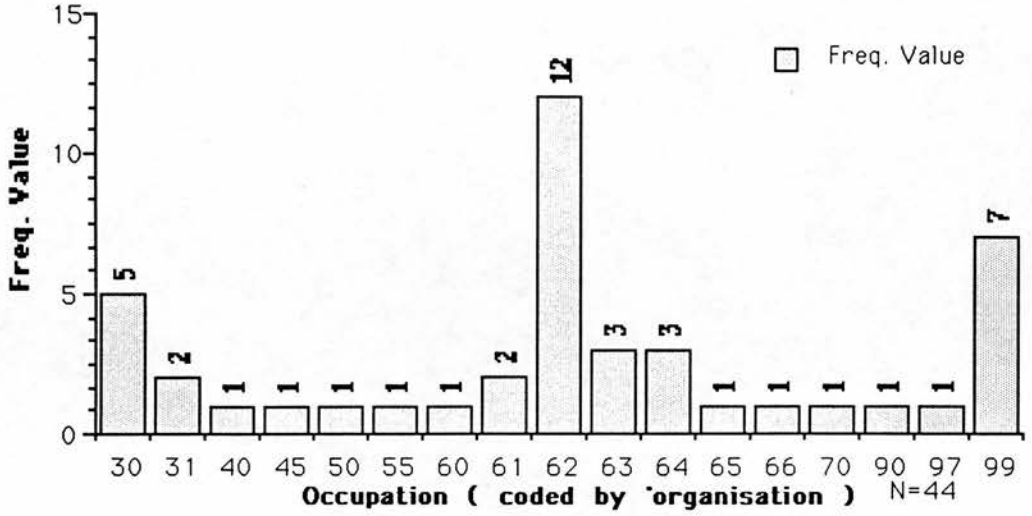
Scotland	676
England	76
Ireland	10
Colonies	48
United States	61
Copenhagan	1
Total	872

Burns had been dead for over 60 years. In Edinburgh the monument and statue to Burns had been first mooted in 1812, the foundation stone was laid in 1831, and the completed statue handed over to Edinburgh District Council five years later.[65] Thus by 1859, unlike the obituary writers of Scott who were locked into recent memories of the man, those celebrating the Burns centenary could engage a little more objectivity, and were much more concerned with their own contemporary national identity, than that of Burns' own lifetime. This set of celebrations is a prime piece of evidence in the expression of Scottish national identity.

The biggest, and highest status, celebration was held at the Music Hall in Edinburgh. Tables were laid for 700 guests. The occupational profile of the top table of this gathering is presented below :

Figure 8. 1

Occupational Status of Top Table of Burns Supper



Occupation coded by 'Organisation'			
30	Dist. & Processing	62	Legal
31	Dealers	63	Religion
40	Transport	64	Education
45	Commerce	65	Misc. Services
50	Manufacturing	66	Printing & Publishing
55	Craft	70	Construction
60	Professional (general)	90	Independent Income
61	Medical	97	Defence
		99	No Occupational Title

Small numbers are involved, but the dominance of the legal profession, as the elite of literary patronage, is clear to see. After the usual toasts to the Queen, the Prince Consort and the Prince of Wales, the chairman Lord Ardmillan then proposed a toast to "The Arms of our Country."

> "I rise to propose to you "The Arms of the Country" - not the heraldic arms, blazoned though they may be with the historic glories of disputed ages; but the two brave and powerful armies with which Britain now guards her shore, maintains her rights, and achieves her triumphs - the Navy and the Army."[66]

In particular the toast was made to the Scottish veterans within the British army, who were inspired by Burns, when "in the desperate onset which sweeps the enemy from the field, how has there run along the Scottish line the sound - of that noblest of martial orders, - "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled." This was greeted by enthusiastic applause. The Scottish regiments were a proud symbol of Scotland who maintained their own identity, through their own clothing, within the British army. The heroic

fighting of Wallace *against* the English now inspired the Scots to fight *alongside* the English against a common enemy. At this celebration to Burns, Professor Blackie then rose to propose "The Meaning of Sir Walter Scott" :

> "There are six great names in Scottish History round which all true Scotsmen must gather as the proudest symbols of their nationality - two in the political world, Robert Bruce and William Wallace; two in the world of Christian heroism and devotedness, Patrick Hamilton, the first Protestant martyr, and John Knox, the founder of the National Church; two in its literary world, Robert Burns and Walter Scott. To which of these truly representative men we are most indebted for the inheritance of our great birthright of national feeling it is foolish to inquire; enough that they have all contributed to make us what, by the Grace of God, we are - a free, an independent, a thoughtful, a sober minded, and a conscientious - an earnest, determined, and preserving - and, so long as we cherish these virtues, a prosperous and invisible people."[67]

Scotland may not have had political independence, but there was a strong sense of a nation independent in spirit, and that this independence was achieved through the actions of its icons of history. This theme of Burns being fundamental to Scotland's nationhood was echoed at the celebration hosted by the Total Abstinence Society at an event with seating for 400 guests, but where it was estimated that no fewer than 1500 persons crammed in to all the passageways at the Corn Exchange in Edinburgh. This meeting, it was pointed out, was held not to rival that being held in the Music Hall, but to enable all to honour a man and not be precluded from doing so by the cost of admission.[68] The Rev. Alexander Wallace of Glasgow then addressed the audience :

> "What is it that has led to such a national demonstration on the part of a people not easily moved to such meetings as the present? The gatherings in every town and village, from John O' Groats to Maidenkirk, are not sectional or party gatherings, but national. They breath the spirit of an entire people; for Robert Burns was the most intensely national poet that ever lived." (cheers; then followed by a rendition of Auld Lang Syne).[69]

Elsewhere, at six o'clock, noticeably earlier than the middle class meetings, the Trades' Delegation held a fruit soiree in Queen Street Hall. It was recorded that when they opened the grave to lay Burns' wife beside the poet, they tried their hats upon the head of Burns, but found that his head was too big. The chairman concluded by "a comparative sketch of the careers of Burns and James Watt, and the respective influence which each had, on the poetical peasant and the scientific artisan on his own and the present generation." It was argued that "Scotland needed a poet to embody in song the life of the nation before a foreign element had weakened and changed its conditions."[70]

Ballantyne' compilation of the newspaper coverage of the celebrations includes reports on a number of other events. In Dunedin Hall in Edinburgh nearly 2000 gathered under the auspices of a 'Working man's Festival'; a fruit soiree run by the Dean and Water of Leith Mutual Improvement Society was held; a students' meeting, and other smaller meetings such as that of the workmen of Younger's Abbey Brewery and the Tam O' Shanter Club, took place. All classes held their meetings and soirees, both big and small, to celebrate Burns' centenary. All stressed the voice of nationality Burns had given to, in contemporary terms, the Scottish peasantry through, in particular, "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled." But equally each gathering was an opportunity to express loyalty to Victoria and, as Britain emerged from a period of warfare, a time to bless and celebrate the empire's army and navy, and the contribution of the Scots to them. As the turn of events at the most prestigious Glasgow celebration demonstrated, following the honouring of the military exploits of Burn's son, the toast was drunk to the strains of 'Rule Britannia' on the organ. To further demonstrate this appropriation of Scotland's military achievements to the British cause, at the Glasgow celebration, a Colonel Mellish proposed the toast with the following :

> "... that the countrymen of Robert Burns have lately and most brilliantly participated in many gallant achievements of the British navy and army, and have thus shown that they are of the same stamp as those who bled with Wallace, and were led on by Robert Bruce, and whose spirit is still to be found among their descendants, ready with strong hands and stout hearts to do their duty to their country." (applause)[71]

In this use of the symbols of Scotland's past, Wallace and Bruce fought gallantly for the British army. Similar sentiments of the complex interchangeability of English and Scottish literary icons was made by Walter Buchanan, M. P., in a toast to 'the English poets'. He argued that there was no reason why Shakespeare could not have been born in Scotland, nor any reason why Beattie or Campbell could not have been born in England - but Burns never. "He was a concentration of the genius of Scotland. His patriotism is Scotch ... His noble independence was Scotch." But despite these sentiments to the singular Scottishness of Burns, Buchanan's was a toast to the English poets at one of the peak mid-century celebrations of Scottish nation-hood; and as he sat down, the band played the distinctly English refrain, 'The Roast Beef of England'[72]

But this was a celebration of the life and influence of Robert Burns; it is an important occasion for identifying the straws which are grasped by a society that believes itself

independent, but still accepts that it is politically dependent. Mr Bailie Cochrane of Lemington rounded off the Glasgow celebration :

> "... there was a time, a century ago, when our nationality was endangered, when Scotland had been converted into that battlefield 'where those who conquer do not win, and they must lose who gain' - (loud cheers) - the nation felt that a stranger was in the land, and his cold hand was laid on its heart. Ay, at that time there was a danger, not for our national, but for our mental, independence, for a feeling sprung up in the south hostile to our progress; but in spite of all jealousies and antipathies, Scotland marched on England, not in any military way, but in the less dazzling march of mind and of intelligence; this march was preceded by Robert Burns. (cheers)"[73]

It was Scotland's belief in its independent nationhood which formed the basis of its claims to equal rights with England under the Union. Scott and Burns were two of the prominent icons to give substance to this belief in an independent civil society. This acceptance of Scottish nationhood was the oxygen that the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights fed off. However, this belief in an independent Scottish nationhood was premised on a particular interpretation of the Union of 1707. The entire interplay between the symbols of Scottish nationalism and a Scottish identity, a British identity, and that of empire, was that Scotland and England came together under the Union as equals. Scotland, an independent nation, and England, an independent nation, joined together as Great Britain. This very particular interpretation of 1707 was focussed on the memory of Sir William Wallace and King Robert Bruce, whose exploits in the fourteenth century, as it was understood in the mid-nineteenth century, forever guaranteed Scotland's independence and *resulted in* the Union of 1707.

(IV) The Monuments to Wallace & Bruce

There has been, and indeed there still is, a steady stream of literature on the life and adventures of Sir William Wallace. In 1858 one group of enthusiasts attempted to collate a bibliography of works relating to the patriot's life.[74] Most of the early works, especially the chap-books, were versions of (Blind Harry) Henry the Minstrel's poem. However the number of publication increased, in particular over the nineteenth century when over sixty works published in the period 1800-58 were identified.

Previous attempts had been made in 1838 and 1846 to built monuments to Wallace at Stirling, partly as a response to an earlier Glasgow effort which "had fallen through in consequence of the proverbial jealousy which had for so long existed between the

Glasgow 'folk' and the Edinburgh 'people.'"[75] One successful monument had been built overlooking the River Tweed in Dryburgh by the 11th Earl of Buchan as early as 1814.[76] Buchan, the founder of the Society of Antiquaries in 1780, was in his later years thought quite mad by his neighbour Sir Walter Scott.[77] In fact Buchan was one of the first - if not the sole voice - to argue for an independent Scottish republic.

On June 24, 1856 the inauguration of a movement to built a monument to Wallace took place in Stirling. The day was set aside as a holiday in the town and all the corporations and public bodies joined together to form a procession. Like other nationalist events throughout the world, for the procession 'many ancient and almost forgotten insignia were brought to light.' The band of course played "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled", and upwards of 20,000 spectators gathered to see the Earl of Elgin take the chair and to hear why a monument should be built to Wallace at Stirling Bridge.[78] Elgin, who claimed lineal decent from Robert Bruce, stressed the centrality of Wallace and Bruce to the Union of 1707.

> "... if the Scottish people have been able to form an intimate union and association with a people more wealthy and more numerous than themselves, without sacrificing one jot of their neutral independence and liberty - these great results are due to the glorious struggle which was commenced on the plain of Stirling and consummated on that of Bannockburn. ... And, gentlemen, if time permitted, I would even undertake to show that it is the successful struggle carried on under Bruce and Wallace that it is only the Union between Scotland and England has not only been honourable to the former but profitable to the latter. ... [With reference to the troubles in America and Ireland] I believe, therefore, that if the whole truth were to be told in this matter, we might show that England owes to Wallace and Bruce a debt of obligation only second to that which is due to them by Scotland. (hear, hear)".[79]

This view of English and Scottish unanimity found common cause with the seconder of the motion, Sheriff H. G. Bell : "Scotland and England are now one. Any Scotchman who now entertained animosity towards England, or any Englishman who entertained animosity towards Scotland, would be set down as simply insane. (hear, hear)".

The Wallace Caledonian Institute held its first meeting of the June 24th 1856, and was set up primarily to oversee the laying of the foundation stone of the National Wallace Monument. It was also intended, by the raising of a subscription, "to provide pecuniary aid to cultivate the literature, science, and art, connected with Scotland, in circumstances of indigence; and to provide premiums for compositions of national

interest, to be competed for by students attending the Scottish Universities."[80] As is common in nationalist movements, the focus of a national hero was being used to encourage educational understanding of that particular country, and thus to perpetuate national sentiment.

After this large first meeting, the appeal went out for subscriptions. The Acting Committee deemed it unnecessary to gave any details why money should be subscribed, because they believed 'he is dear to every Scottish heart' :

> "The lapse of centuries since our independence was achieved cannot diminish the claims of the patriot through whose valour it was won. The gallantry of our brave countrymen during the recent war ought to increase our veneration for the memory of him who preserved among us the spirit of national heroism."[81]

The laying of the foundation stone took place on the June 24th 1861. The procession that day, and the banquet which followed in the evening, attracted nearly two full pages of coverage in The Scotsman. It was estimated that upwards of 50,000 people attended, with half of that number appearing in uniform.

Rev. Dr. Rodgers, secretary to the organising committee proclaimed that :

> "Well may the government of Britain recognise the proceedings of this day, for we are celebrating the memory of a chief who made Scotland a nation, placed a new dynasty upon the English throne, and, under Providence, was the means of uniting these kingdoms together on equal terms, and with equal rights."[82]

Mr James Dunlop then spoke :

> "... though five hundred years have rolled away, that their social and political existence is owing to the victory which was gained here, instead of coming here with your peaceful banners, and the insignia of social triumph, you would have been engaged in the same awful and terrible contest in which Poland, Italy and Hungary are engaged at this time. (cheers) And never forget that if you are now in a fraternal union with England, and have now a great empire to defend, that it is to Wallace to whom it must be ascribed. (cheers)."[83]

It was Wallace and Bruce, by defeating the English, who gained Scotland independence and allowed Scotland to join with England as an equal, and which now guaranteed peace between the two nations. Through warfare there was now peace,

was the message. Archibald Alison reiterated this point in his speech at the banquet which followed the great public spectacle : "We would have been unworthy to enter on equal terms into the English Union if we had not shown ourselves able to withstand her arms."

(i) A Monument to Wallace & Bruce : an Edinburgh attempt

Another explicit rendition of the rhetoric of English defeat leading to a Union of equals was displayed in a proposal to built a monument to Wallace and Bruce in Edinburgh in 1859. Although this attempt failed, it is illuminating for the language used by its sponsors to obtain subscriptions to fund its construction. The language used was of Scotland's two great leaders in her fight for independence from England in the 14th century being used as symbols of support for the Union.[84]

Thus, designed and to be executed in bronze by I Noel Paton RSA, in 1859 there was, significantly titled, a proposal to build a "National Memorial of the War of Independence under Wallace and Bruce and of its results in the Union of England and Scotland to be erected in the Scottish Metropolis."[85] This appeal started off by stating how the Wars of Independence strengthened the Union which now benefits both countries today. The writer of the document (Paton) played up to the Scots' belief in their own fair-mindedness :

> "The record of Scotland's great struggle, however, has its lessons for peace as well as war - for individual as well as a national significance. The disinterested PATRIOTISM of Wallace, ruling with a kingly hand at the bidding of his countrymen, relinquishing that rule to appease the jealousies by which they were divided, is a lesson for all time, and is only equalled by the PERSEVERANCE, the self-sustaining ardour, which enabled Bruce ultimately to achieve his own sovereign place, and to vindicate the honour of his countrymen." [p.2].

Once the Scots had been convinced of their own reasonableness, the author then goes for the kill by arguing that the monument will be regarded as the 'intelligent' answer to peace for both sides :

> "The Scottish people cannot be influenced in erecting such a Memorial by anything unbecoming the lesson they seek to perpetuate; nor will England fail to appreciate the endeavour to deepen that love of country and of freedom, which is their own most cherished birthright. Intelligent Englishmen know full well the source of Britain's strength and greatness, and that to the independence achieved under Wallace and Bruce, the UNION of Scotland with her sister kingdom, on terms satisfying to both, owes not only all its practicality, but the greater portion of its success.

> Intelligent Englishmen also know that their countrymen from Wallace's day, who, in language as in real influence, formed the staple of the English nation, not only had no sympathy with the feudal despotism of the Norman Kings, but mourned for the Scottish patriot as for the forlorn hope against the 'common oppressors of both countries'" [p3].

The Wars of Independence were being presented as the success of Scotland which enabled it to obtain equality with England by the time of the enactment of the Union. Paton makes clear just how he sees the contribution of the two great heroes to the Union :

> "It is not to be a Monument to either Wallace or Bruce - a point as to which it is necessary that the utmost explicitness should exist. It is the Deliverance and its results, as distinguished from the Deliverers, that is here sought to be commemorated; and though the Deliverers, in the persons of the two great Chiefs ... its primary idea [is] that of commemorating 'Freedom's Battle' in Scotland..." [pp.3-4].

This is indeed the central passage, conveying explicitly Paton's intended symbolism for the monument. Wallace and Bruce were to be commemorated for their contribution, not to Scotland's independence, but to Scotland's equality with England at the time of Union - an event nearly 400 years after they departed from this earth. Moreover, by securing independence in the fourteenth century, and thus achieving equality of Union in the eighteenth century, the result was now peace and prosperity in the nineteenth century.

> "In my design for the projected Monument, while endeavouring to give due expression to the legitimate enthusiasm which we all feel towards our patriot heroes and martyrs, I have been studious to interweave the recognition of the peaceful triumphs of a later and happier day, when the sword of intestine war has been for ever sheathed in these lands, and the Scotch and their 'auld enemies', the English, had become, under the providence of God, one great, free, and united people" [p. 5].

This is a wonderful example of the interplay between two apparently opposite symbols of the Scottish past : the Wars of Independence on the one hand and the Union on the other. It is the explicit use of pre-modern symbols of the Scottish ethnie in the mid-nineteenth century with the aim to both strengthen the Union and appeal to Scottish notions of independence. It is this sort of discourse in the nineteenth century that can be referred to as 'Unionist-nationalism'.

Edinburgh never got its monument to either Wallace or Bruce until the twentieth century. In 1882, Edinburgh Council advertised a public competition for a Wallace

and Bruce memorial under the terms of a bequest left by Captain Hugh Reid. £2,000 was made available for the construction, but nothing materialised.[86] It was not until 1929 that statues to Wallace and Bruce were unveiled on the Esplanade of Edinburgh Castle, by the Duke of York, soon to be King George VI.[87]

As the capital, Edinburgh's passion for building monuments has been great since the early nineteenth century - the recent study by Turnbull identified over one hundred major monuments and statues.[88] However, one monument is famous for more than it commemorates - it is famous for its state of incompleteness, it is 'Edinburgh's disgrace', the national monument on Calton Hill.

(V) The National Monument, Calton Hill

To take us from the just before our period of study, until just after it, the final example in this chapter will emphasise how just how clearly the symbolism of national identity is linked to changing definitions of 'government'. This is essentially a symbol of England's 'glorious past' - but for which an attempt was made to foist it onto Scotland's heritage - the National Monument on Calton Hill.

After a years appealing for subscriptions, which reached 'almost every Scottish nobleman and many Scottish folk home and abroad, besides other sympathisers like the Duke of Wellington', £16,192 was gathered in 1822. It was hoped that £42,000 be raised, but this heavily dependent on a claim for a grant from £10,000 from parliament.[89] The amount subscribed was incorporated in an Act of Parliament in 1822, the year George IV came on his jaunt to Edinburgh, and it was for him that construction was started. This was built as a British national monument to be located in Scotland. It was said 'the carrot' for Scotland was to commemorate the thousands of Scots lives lost during the Napoleonic Wars.[90] It was to celebrate the 'surviving heroes of Trafalgar and Waterloo'.[91] Keeping in mind what was said earlier about the construction of a common identity, what could be better for the Union than a symbol of a united past for Scotland and England against a third party : 'Scots fighting the battles of their King' was how the Duke of Atholl termed it.[92] As an expression of pro-Union loyalty, deliberately coinciding with George IV's visit, it was endorsed by Scotland's leading lights.

Not only did the likes of the Duke of Buccleuch subscribe, but so too did the then advocates Francis Jeffrey (the co-founder of the Edinburgh Review), and Lord Cockburn.[93] The Sub-Committee appointed to oversee the completion of the

monument hoped, in 1822, that it would receive many donations from England and the colonies :

> "... instead of being regarded as a mere local object, with which Scotchmen only are concerned, it will be looked upon as a splendid addition to the architectural riches of the Empire, in which all its inhabitants are interested."[94]

The point is that a celebrated British victory against France was being offered to, and was endorsed by, sections of the Scottish bourgeoisie as a symbol of not only England's and Scotland's united glorious past, but of Scotland's own glorious past.

By 1828 it was clear that the plans to complete the monument were in trouble. Some argued that the monument should be turned into a church. This idea had always been resisted. In 1820 a contributor to the Scots Magazine was insistent that an assurance that the National Monument would not become a church "was essential to the success of the proposed measure."[95] The plan for a church receded, but in an attempt to raise more capital, the idea was hatched to lay out the vaults of the monument into dormitories, consisting of some 100 cells, to create a shrine for the famous dead. Adverts were published, and argued for support for the venture because :

> "of the absolute and most peaceful security which it could afford against any attempt to disturb the dead, and the pious desire which many families in Scotland must feel to have the remains of their illustrious ancestors deposited under the spot where their honourable names are to be inserted, and [so have] their noble deeds recorded by grateful posterity."[96]

This proposal collapsed in ignamous ridicule, and by 1846 a petition was raised at parliament to change the function of the monument once more, and that it be completed as a replica of the Parthenon 'for the sake of art'. Equally, by mid-century the failed monument was being seized upon as a symbol of national disgrace, and demands were made more forcibly concerning Scotland's heroic military past :

> "resurrect and keep alive that patriotic independence and martial spirit for which our countrymen were so distinguished, when Scotland was an independent kingdom, but which is apt to die away when united to a larger and richer kingdom like England."[97]

George Gleghorn then quotes from Archibald Alison :

> "There are few examples in the history of mankind of any independent kingdom being incorporated with another of greater magnitude without

> losing, in process of time, the national eminence, where in arts or arms, to which it had arrived ... Whatever we can arrest this lamentable progress, and fix down in a permanent manner the genius of Scotland to its own shores, confers not only an incalculable benefit upon this country, but upon the United Empire, of which it forms a part. The National Monument in Edinburgh seems calculated in a remarkable manner to assist this most desirable object.[98]

But Gleghorn insisted that the military achievement is still that of Great Britain, who "fought single handed against bounded Europe for the preservation of her laws, her liberties and her alters."[99]

The monument has never been completed, and John Grant argued, mid-century, that a practical use be made of the national monument :

> "The thirteen naked columns which rise on the Calton Hill must no longer continue an object of national ridicule. Let us now demand from the Government a share of what we are so rightly entitled to. Let the national monument be finished and occupied as a museum of geology, natural history, antiquities, and sculpture."[100]

Little more was said on the matter until 1906, when a publication compiling three articles in the Evening News condemned the earlier symbolism of Scotland's contribution to the British army being awarded a *national* monument.[101] The author disparaged England's failure to provide money for the completion of the monument, blaming George IV for putting Scotland out of mind as soon as he was safely a few miles from the border. This correspondent rejected the idea of the completed monument retaining its original symbolism - and this is the important point - with respect to commemorating the war with France, Scotland's 'auld friends'. He proposed to change the whole meaning of the building by turning its purpose into a home for the Scottish National Gallery. It was intended that it celebrate Scotland's internal achievement, not Britain's or rather England's external military successes against Scotland's European neighbours.

It can be seen, therefore, that for Scottish national identity, the terms of expression had changed by the end of the century. It was less possible to celebrate Unionist-nationalism. The creation of the Scottish Office in 1885, and the extension of the franchise to the working class in the same year, had completed the definite shift to a centralised state. The 1870s, and national elementary education, had already been a fundamental blow to a decentralised polity. The governing of civil society could no longer be carried out by a philanthropic bourgeoisie and an empowered local state. By

the final quarter of the nineteenth century, the focus of government was the central state, the parliamentary state. The change in symbolism for the national monument expressed a growing split, so evident today, between the Union and Scottish national identity, and it reflected this change to centralised government. Unionist-nationalism was a candle in the wind; it was fixed to its own time and its own place.

1 Ash, Marinell (1980) The Strange Death of Scottish History, The Ramsey Head Press, Edinburgh : 144

2 Weekly Journal, 25th September, 1832, see off-cut in 'Notices of the Death of Sir Walter Scott and Erection of Monuments', MS. 1631 [NLS].

3 Reproduced in the Glasgow Herald, 24th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS]

3 The Scotsman, 22nd September, 1832.

4 The Scotsman, 22nd September, 1832.

5 Daiches, D., "Scott and Scotland", in Alan Bell (ed) Scott : Bicentenary Essays (1972), Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press : 40.

6 Scott, P. H. (1981) Scott and Scotland, Blackwood, Edinburgh: 59.

7 Edinburgh Evening Post, 29th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

8 Dumfries Courier, reproduced in The Scotsman, 26th September, 1832.

9 Edinburgh Observer and New North Britain, 25th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

10 Glasgow Herald, 24th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS]

11 The Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, 29th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS]

12 Morris, A. E., (1989)

13 Glasgow Herald, 24th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS]

14 Scott, P. H. (1981) : 1.

15 Edinburgh Evening Post, 29th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS]

16 The Scotsman, 22nd September, 1832

17 The Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, 29th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

18 The Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, 29th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

19 Dumfries Courier, reproduced in The Scotsman, 26th September, 1832.

20 The Schoolmaster and Edinburgh Weekly Magazine, 29th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

21 Edinburgh Evening Courant, 24th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

22 Caledonian Mercury, 24th September, 1832 , see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

23 Edinburgh Evening Post, reproduced in the Glasgow Herald, 24th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

24 Glasgow Herald, 24th September, 1832, see off-cut in MS. 1631 [NLS].

25 Dumfries Courier, reproduced in The Scotsman, 26th September, 1832.

26 The Scotsman, 6th October, 1832.

27 James Skene of Rubistlaw 'Contents of Mr. Skene's Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott, etc.', MS. 965 : pp. 286-287. [NLS].

28 Council Record, vol. 212, 3rd October, 1832. [ECA].

29 See Appendix I for General Committee membership; a meeting of this General Committee was then held that week (9th) to appoint the Sub-Committee (The Scotsman, 13th October, 1832); see Appendix I for details.

30 The Scotsman, 6th October, 1832. A front page advertisement presenting the resolutions passed at this meeting, the composition of the Sub-Committee, and a list of the first subscribers, was published in The Scotsman, 13th October, 1832, which in addition stated that subscriptions will be received by the secretary, and by certain Banks and Bankers in Edinburgh, and also at bookseller's shops.

31 Contributions at St. Petersburg in the aid of the Fund now raising in Great Britain and on the Continent of Europe for Erecting a Monument at Edinburgh to the Memory of the late Sir Walter Scott, Bart., appeal dated 15th October, 1832 from James Skene, Secretary. The sum raised, after

costs, was £1,525. [EPL]; See also letter to Skene detailing a Public Meeting in New York to raise subscriptions, with a minimum contribution of $10, MS. 965 [NLS].

32 The Scotsman, 20th October, 1832, abridged from report in the Glasgow Herald.

33 The successful agreement between Sir Walter Scott's family and his creditors was reported in The Scotsman, 3rd November, 1832.

34 "Letter from King intimating pension conferred by him upon the sister of Sir Walter Scott", 24th November(?), 1832, MS. 1631 [NLS].

35 The Scotsman, 1st December, 1832.

36 The Scotsman, 30th January, 1833; repeated in the note accompanying the third publication of the Abbotsford subscription, The Scotsman, 20th February, 1833. See Appendix I for the membership of the Edinburgh Sub-Committee of the London Abbotsford Subscription, from MS. 965 [NLS].

37 'The Abbotsford Subscription'(1833) : 31. [NLS : A.124.c].

38 From a printed circular of the 'Resolutions of the London Committee' sent to James Skene, MS. 965 [NLS].

39 The Abbotsford Subscription : Sub-Committee of Management (1833) [NLS].

40 Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh, (1852) : 4. Although a glance at the subscription papers shows this was not strictly true, with a small number of subscriptions from London, and occasionally from Liverpool and elsewhere. The likelihood is, however, that such contributors were Scots.

41 Subscription Paper for Memorial to Sir Walter Scott, to be erected in the Metropolis of Scotland, broad sheet (n.d., c.1833), [NLS].

42 MS. 825 [NLS].

43 Second Annual Report of the Sub-Committee for Erecting a Monument to Sir Walter Scott, (1835), Edinburgh, Printed by Neil & Co. [NLS].

44 Second Annual Report of the Sub-Committee for Erecting a Monument to Sir Walter Scott, (1835) : 11.

45 Third Report of the Sub-Committee for Erecting a Monument to Sir Walter Scott, (1838), Edinburgh, Printed by Neil & Co. [NLS].

46 Third Report of the Sub-Committee for Erecting a Monument to Sir Walter Scott, (1838) : 7-8.

47 Memes, J. S., LL. D. Hons. , S. A. Letter to John Steele, Esq., S. A., Regarding the Scott Monument, (3rd April, 1838), Edinburgh, Andrew Shortrede. [NLS].

48 Council Record, vol. 233, 7th July, 1840. [ECA] The Bill ordered by the House of Commons 'for the erection at Edinburgh of a monument to the late Sir Walter Scott' was laid before the Council on 30th March, 1841, and remitted to the Lord Provost's Committee where assent was given and the City Seal granted in April, Council Record, vol. 234, 30th March, 1841; vol. 235, 20th April, 1841 [ECA].

49 The Scotsman, 3rd June, 1840.

50 The Auxiliary Committee consisted of : John Martin, banker; Robert Bryson, watchmaker; Robert Chambers, publisher, Ralf Richardson, tobacconist; William Marshall, jeweller; James Ballantyne, painter; William Donaldson, clothier; Wm. Lindores, grocer; Frederick Shultz, Leith; John Dick, Albion Cloth Company, convener of Committee; John Castle, accountant, secretary of Committee, Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument (1852). Dick's reference to the Sub-Committee as being of the "higher ranks" was reported in Proceedings at the Public Meeting Regarding the Monument to Sir Walter Scott, 5th February 1844, Edinburgh, Printed by T. Constable : 14 [EPL].

51 Proceedings at the Public Meeting Regarding the Monument to Sir Walter Scott (1844) : 13. The Witness, 19 August, 1846.

52 See for example, Theatre Royal, Edinburgh. In Aid of the Subscription to Erect a Monument to Sir Walter Scott, (1841), where on March 29th the Officers of the Garrison will perform Planche's Historical Play 'Charles XII'. [NLS].

53 Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh, (1852) : 9.

54 See also an ornate invite, stating the officials at the ceremony : N. L. S. : RY.1.1.23 (16).

55 This invitation can be found under the heading "Scott Monument : Foundation Stone of Monument ... to be laid on 15th August, 1840". [EPL]

56 Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument (1852) , Edinburgh : 7-8.

57 Note again the sign of a shift to more of a middle class control over the Committee - typified by occupational structure of the auxiliary committee.

58 The Scotsman, 19th August, 1840. Rae also expressed his concern with the Committee's failure to obtain their target subscription, and although "far from blaming" the Selkirk and Glasgow Subscriptions for wanting to express their adoration for Scott, these circumstances count "in some measure for the limited amount of our subscription." At that time the subscription exceed £7,000.

58 The Scotsman, 19th August, 1840.

59 The Scotsman, 19th August, 1840.

60 Proceedings at the Public Meeting Regarding the Monument to Sir Walter Scott (1844); see also The Scotsman, 7th February 1844.

61 Proceedings at the Public Meeting Regarding the Monument to Sir Walter Scott (1844) : 12.

62 Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Scott Monument, Edinburgh, (1852) : 10-11.

63 The Witness, 19 August, 1846.

64 Ballantyne, James (ed.) (1859) Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns, A. Fullerton & Co.

65 History of the Burns Monument (1961), Edinburgh [NLS : HP2.87.2329].

66 Ballantyne (1859) : 3.

67 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 14.

68 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 18-19.

69 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 23.

70 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 29.

71 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 41.

72 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 45.

73 Reported in Ballantyne (1859) : 57.

74 Bibliotheca Wallasiania : List of the Various Works relating to Sir William Wallace from 1488-1858 (1858), Presentation copy, only 50 printed for private circulation.

75 Some Records of the Origin and Progress of the National Wallace Monument Movement, initiated at Glasgow in March 1856 (1880) Printed for private circulation : 6.

76 Glasgow Herald, 14 September, 1991.

77 Cant, Ronald G. (1981) "David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan : Founder of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", Bell, A. S. (ed.) The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition : Essays to mark the bicentenary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1780-1980, John Donald, Edinburgh.

78 The Scotsman, 25 June, 1856.

79 The Scotsman, 25 June, 1856.

80 The Scotsman, 27 June, 1861.

81 National Monument to Sir William Wallace on the Abbey Craig near Stirling (n.d.), n.p. [NLS : L.232.a.4.(2).

82 The Scotsman, 25 June, 1861.

83 The Scotsman, 25 June, 1861.

84 Compare this with contemporary populist history from Nigel Tranter who describes Wallace as '... the patriot pure and simple'. He goes on : "Here is the epic story of a young man of lofty stature but not very lofty birth who, driven to desperation and tears by the savagery and indignities perpetuated upon his fellow countrymen and women, as policy of Edward Plantagenet, Hammer of the Scots, took upon himself to challenge almost single-handed the might of the greatest military machine in Christendom; and who by indomitable courage, shrewd strategy, brilliant tactics, sublime faith and a kind of holy impatience, raised a stricken and leaderless nation to self-respect again and, in

the absence of its king, become its acknowledged head as well as its saviour; and then was shamefully betrayed". The Wallace (1975) Hodder & Staughton, London : 'dust-jacket'.

85 Emphasis added; thereafter all original emphasis. [EPL. qYNA 9355W, Acc 42194].

86 Conditions Relative to Proposed Public Competition for the Wallace and Bruce Memorial (1882), Captain Reid's Bequest, City of Edinburgh. [EPL qYNA 9355W, B16880].

87 Turnbull, M. T. R. B. (1989) Monuments and Statues of Edinburgh, Chambers, Edinburgh.

88 Turnbull (1989); see also "Index to the Inventory of Monuments maintained by the District", Edinburgh District Council, Department of Architecture, [EPL qYNA981, 78 3802201].

89 Skinner, Robert T. (1930) "Scotland's Disgrace", The Scotsman 3 December : MS 639 [NLS].

90 Prebble, John (1988) The King's Jaunt : George IV in Scotland, 1822, Collins, London : 153

91 Second Report to the adjourned meeting of Directors of the National Monument in Scotland (1828). MS. 352 [NLS].

92 Prebble (1988) : 330.

93 Although being fair canny fellows their respective 100 guinea donations were made only on condition of completion of the monument.

94 MS. 638 [NLS].

95 A Traveller (1820) "Restoration of the Parthenon", Scots Magazine, February : MS. 638 [NLS].

96 Cleghorn, George (1852) Essay on the National Monument of Scotland, Transactions of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, Second Session, 1851-52, Edinburgh : 85-86.

97 Cleghorn (1852) : 113-114.

98 Quoted in Cleghorn (1852) : 114.

99 Gleghorn (1852) : 117.

100 Ian "Neglect of Scotland" Caledonian Mercury, nd., n.p. [NLS : offcut in Scottish Rights Association, vol. I]

101 The National Monument to be completed for the Scottish National Gallery on the model of the Parthenon : An appeal to the Scottish People by William Mitchell, S.S.C. (1906). EML YDA 2324 N27, Acc 44458.

Chapter Ten

Conclusion :
Unionist-Nationalism - a state within a state

From the evidence presented in chapters eight and nine it is now clear that the strength of Scottish national identity was great and its coherence also. The rhetoric was straightforward, however strange it may seem to twentieth century nationalists : Scotland wanted more Union not less. Scotland's mid-nineteenth century nationalists believed their nation had entered the Union of 1707 as an equal, and that was how they demanded to be treated. Wallace and Bruce, by winning Scotland its independence in the fourteenth century, enabled Scotland to join with England as a partner in the eighteenth century, and enabled Scotland to enhance Great Britain's power over the empire in the nineteenth century. The icons of Scotland's ethnie were used to both celebrate Union with England and Scotland's independent nationhood.

This is not the first piece of research to demonstrate the unwillingness of the bourgeoisie of nineteenth century Scotland to break with the Union. However, what this thesis has attempted to demonstrate is that this unwillingness should not be seen as a failed nationalism, but rather that it be interpreted as positive and rational response to 'government' in the 1830-1860 period.

Two notions have therefore been central to the argument of this thesis. The first has been the state/civil society axis, because around which national identity is formed. The second notion is that of 'government', the state/civil society axis shapes national identity because it is the axis of 'government'.

The ambiguity in the axis between Scottish civil society and its state has been apparent since 1707. Indeed, the very concept of the British 'nation-state' was questioned because of the disparity between a number of civil societies and one unitary British state (chapter one). It has been argued that the resulting form this state/civil society axis took, was that eighteenth century Scotland was effectively 'managed' on behalf of the British state; after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 Scotland more or less quietly got on with its own social and economic development, accepting the role of junior partner with England.

By the turn of the century the acceptance of Westminster 'management' was challenged by an expanding bourgeoisie, rising from an industrialising society. The state/civil society axis of the nineteenth century was re-shaped. The Victorian state (chapter two) was seen to abandon mercantilism in favour of Free Trade. In response to urbanisation and industrialisation, this unitary state created a framework whereby Scottish civil society was enshrined on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This enshrinement cemented the 'gap' between Scottish civil society and its state. The 'problem' this created for theorists was that nineteenth century nationalism was 'missing' in Scotland because of its failure to make the political and the social congruent (chapter three). For theorists of capital 'P' politics, Scotland was the dog that did not bark, leaving nothing but a cultural sub-nationalism that, the logic of such theorists propelled them to argue, was inevitably inferior. In a challenge to this interpretation, it was argued that such theorists misunderstood the mid-Victorian state in the state/civil society axis. It was postulated instead that a reading of the use made of the symbols of the Scottish ethnie would mirror not the failure to demand a Westminster style parliamentary Scottish state, but rather a Scottish civil society that was effectively 'governed' from within by its urban middle classes.

How Scotland was 'governed' in the mid-nineteenth century fundamentally shaped its nationalism. The parliamentary franchise was opened up to the £10 property holders, and local government likewise : the bourgeoisie were empowered as the managers of nineteenth century society. Central to explaining the ways and means that the middle classes 'governed' civil society was their activities in Edinburgh's public life. The theories of Goffman (chapter four) helped us understand the relationship between activity in public life, social role and social status. For the middle class in the mid-nineteenth century, claims to status and statement of identity involved manipulating the public life of their civil society. Social power was achieved by publicly proclaiming their name and influence. Claims to power in an urban society involved many public acts, and nominal record linkage was used to bring together the repertoire of claims to social power This methodology was engaged in order to re-create the networks of public/social power. Through this means the structure was in place to understand the nature of 'governing' civil society by the urban middle class.

The three most important voting groups in mid-century Edinburgh were identified : legal, craft, and distribution & processing. Their influence on the 1852 general election was analysed through the concept of 'voting pairs' (chapter five). It was argued that to understand the 'governing' of civil society these three groups would form the

occupational unit of analysis. To this end, the depth and range of voluntary activity was identified as a clear indication of the practical content of class control.

Thus the exercise of middle class power in civil society was put into practice through a myriad of voluntary societies and organisations (chapter six). The associational activity of the Edinburgh bourgeoisie was divided into voluntary societies which were philanthropic in objective, and those which existed as cultural power and status channels for class conflict within the middle class. The structure of a typical voluntary society showed them as status hierarchies inversely related to their day-to-day organisation. From this basis it was made possible to demonstrate the range of resources mobilised by philanthropic societies both to carry out their work and to raise subscriptions and donations. These resources were identified as : (a) the visit; (b) the lecture and the school; (c) the published tract; and (d) the use of statistics. Through its philanthropic actions it was therefore demonstrated just how the Edinburgh bourgeoisie exercised 'social control' on the working class and the poor and how this class responded to its rapidly changing society. Such voluntary societies were the focal point of the battle for hegemonic control in mid-Victorian Edinburgh.

The degree and nature of middle class control over urban society was further explained through an analysis of the political and subscriber profile of this class (chapter seven). An active elite was identified whose subscriber activities were spread between a number of societies and who supported a number of causes. Led by the Lord Provost or the local county laird as patron, there existed, firstly, a certain group of high status individuals who exerted a great deal of influence over Edinburgh's civil society, an influence that at best could only be underestimated. Secondly, the lawyers were shown to be over-represented within a number of different societies. It was postulated that this was indicative of their social power, and that the legal profession dominated the 'rank and file' membership of the most active subscribers in Edinburgh's civil society mid-century. In addition, distribution & processing and craft were shown to be numerically important subscribers in most of the societies. In terms of voting, it was found that in many instances the subscriber population followed the general pollbook population, although the subscriber population often threw up some strong extremes in their candidate pair choice, and occasionally subscriber interest outweighed class. The analysis of the amount subscribed to different causes produced the expected split between 'low' and 'high' status societies, but made the important discovery of 'pockets' of subscriptions. As chapter seven concluded, no matter the occupation, no matter the society, the majority of subscriptions tended to bunch

around favoured amounts. Thus, it was argued, the subscriber population acted as a class - the culture of subscription across all societies was a common one, led by the multiple actions of an energetic few.

This was the middle class action which administered Edinburgh's civil society. This was 'self-government'. Scottish civil society was 'governed' from within during the 1830-1860 period. The parliamentary state was not the focus of Scottish nationalism in these decades. The fear and distrust of 'centralisation' was fundamental to the rhetoric of the NAVSR. Scottish national identity was premised on this peculiar 'state'/civil society relationship and a judgement on the strength or weakness of Scottish national identity in this mid-century period can only rest upon the understanding of middle class power explained. It was this notion of 'government' which was the basis for a re-interpretation of the symbols, icons and rhetoric of Scottish national identity in the mid-nineteenth century (chapters eight and nine).

Unionist-nationalism was argued to be the rational response to state/civil society axis from a middle class that did effectively 'govern' its own society. This interpretation of Scotland's ethnie does not dismiss this nationalism as romantic, or cranky, or transitory, or just weak because of its failure to stimulate a notion of a culture of the 'real'. It does not dismiss Scottish nationalism because of its failure to engage in a parliamentary political project. Rather, the rationality of this form of nationalism as a response to the mid-Victorian state and the independence of Scottish civil society is paramount. We saw earlier (chapter three) Christopher Harvie's stress upon the institutions of civil society which survived the Union, but this has still not stopped him from recently misreading the nineteenth century.

> "Before the mid-1960s the 'story' of Scottish politics seemed to consist of periods of almost geological solidity, punctuated by two 'revolutionary' upheavals - in 1830-32 and 1914-22 - sudden, history-less, and Westminster derived. Tory 'management' vanished in the first, its Liberal successor in the second. In the absence of legislature, the long calms emphasised normative relations between institutions, not party manoeuvre and personal ambition. But since 1966 conflict over Scotland has taken centre stage, and this has produced both a specific politics and a complex interpretative debate."[1]

Perhaps Harvie's relentless pursuit of literary elegance has made him careless, but such broad sweeps maintain a myth of Ossianic proportions. "Geological solidity" should not be allowed to be attached to Scottish nationalism pre-1966. Such mistakes flow from a false understanding of the mid-Victorian state and a failure to understand

how mid-century society was 'governed'. The town councils were part of the story, but they were not part of 'citizen politics', instead they were the instruments of the £10 ratepayers. It was the urban middle class which ran local government, but importantly they also exercised a class and social power through a range of voluntary activities in their 'public life'.

The meaning given to the symbols of the 'past' changes over time - each set of contemporaries has their own concerns, their own statements they wish to make. In the mid-nineteenth century, the symbols of Scotland's ethnie were linked to the demands of a bourgeoisie governing its civil society. Chapters five, six and seven, outlined the power of this bourgeoisie. Chapters eight and nine linked this governing to national identity. Scottish civil society was strongly independent, its organs of government were imbued from within and empowered from without. For the 1830-1860 period, Scotland had, in effect, a 'state within a state'. This was to change post-1870 as 'citizen politics' were extended, and the central state was forced to increase its direct intervention in society. But in the mid-nineteenth century, Scottish civil society 'governed' itself, the nation-state axis was self-contained, and this had a particular impact on Scottish national identity. The rational response, the only response, was Unionist-nationalism - nothing more, nothing less.

1 Harvie, C. (1992) 'Scottish Politics' in Dickson, A. & Treble, J. H. (eds.) People and Society in Scotland, Volume III, 1914-1900, John Donald, Edinburgh : 242.

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Abbreviations :

ECA : Edinburgh City Archive.

EPL : Edinburgh Public Library.

EUL : Edinburgh University Library.

GML : Glasgow Mitchell Library.

NLS : National Library of Scotland.

SRO : Scottish Record Office.

Newspapers :

The Scotsman and The Witness were most frequently consulted, although off-cuts from other newspapers, preserved in archive collections, were often used; specific references are detailed in the footnotes accompanying each chapter.

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Appendices (1-8)

Appendix 1

The fifty most common surnames in Scotland (from the Indices of the years 1855, 1856 and 1858) and from England (deduced from the Indices of 1853).

Table 3.2

Scotland			England	
	No. on the Est. Popn. holding the surname, 1861			Est. Popn. holding the surname, 1861
Smith	8835	44378	Smith	253600
Macdonald	7480	37572	Jones	242100
Brown	6733	33820	Williams	159900
Robetson	6490	32600	Taylor	124400
Thomson	6482	32560	Davies	113600
Stewart	6338	31836	Brown	105600
Campbell	6282	31555	Thomas	94000
Wilson	5921	29741	Evans	93000
Anderson	5634	28300	Roberts	78400
Mackay	4746	23840	Johnson	69500
Mackenzie	4633	23272	Wilson	66800
Scott	4448	22342	Robinson	66700
Johnston	4294	21569	Wright	62700
Miller	4244	21318	Wood	61200
Reid	3991	20047	Thompson	60600
Ross	3634	18254	Hall	60400
Paterson	3593	18048	Hill	60400
Fraser	3586	18013	Green	59400
Murray	3505	17606	Walker	59300
Maclean	3459	17375	Hughes	59000
Cameron	3345	16802	Edwards	58100
Clark	3344	16797	Lewis	58000
Young	3318	16705	White	56900
Henderson	3264	16394	Turner	56300
Macleod	3100	15751	Jackson	55800
Taylor	3092	15535	Harris	51900
Mitchell	3019	15164	Cooper	48400
Watson	2973	14933	Harrison	47200
Ferguson	2952	14828	Ward	45700
Walker	2896	14547	Martin	43900
Morrison	2883	14482	Davis	43700
Davidson	2525	12638	Baker	43600
Gray	2500	12557	Morris	43400
Duncan	2482	12467	James	43100
Hamilton	2445	12282	King	42300
Grant	2426	12186	Morgan	41000

Hunter	2355	11829	Allen	40500
White	2353	11819	Moore	39300
Graham	2331	11709	Parker	39100
Allan	2305	11578	Clark	38100
Kerr	2219	11146	Clarke	38100
Macgregor	2204	11070	Cook	38100
Bell	2115	10624	Price	37900
Simpson	2100	10548	Phillips	37900
Martin	2064	10367	Shaw	36500
Black	2021	10151	Bennett	35800
Munro	2015	10098	Lee	35200
Sinclair	1967	9880	Watson	34800
Sutherland	1954	9815	Griffiths	34800
Gibson	1853	9307	Carter	33400

The following note was appended to the Scottish table : "The different spellings are included in the above Surnames - as Thompsons along with the Thomsons - but in evey case the Scottish spelling is given, as they very greatly preponderate in the Scottish Indices. The different modes of writing the Highland names, Mc or Mac, cannot even be regarded as a difference in spelling."[1]

Appendix 2

Table 3.3

City and Suburbs of Edinburgh - Breakdown of Dominant Occupations (1841)[2]

	CITY				SUBURBS						
OCCUPATIONS	Male	Male	Fem.	Fem.	Male	Male	Fem.	Fem.	**City Tot.**	**Sub. Tot.**	**City & Sub. Tot.**
Age	>20	<20	>20	<20	>20	<20	>20	<20			
Servant, Domestic	704	158	4596	1757	603	149	4361	2053	**7215**	**7166**	**14381**
Boot & Shoemaker	956	216	95	21	1051	199	72	11	**1288**	**1333**	**2621**
Dress maker & Milliner	2	1	770	241	0	1	883	242	**1014**	**1126**	**2140**
Labourer	922	59	20	1	990	55	55	7	**1002**	**1107**	**2109**
Tailor & Breeches maker	660	168	1	0	866	205	0	2	**829**	**1073**	**1902**
Clerk	464	90	1	0	715	120	0	0	**555**	**835**	**1390**
Laundry-keeper, washer & Mangler	1	0	450	13	0	0	693	11	**464**	**704**	**1168**
Cabinet-maker & Upholster	397	113	4	0	503	133	2	0	**514**	**638**	**1152**
Carpenter, Joiner & Wright	300	39	0	0	633	93	1	0	**339**	**727**	**1066**
Printer	318	153	2	0	324	225	1	0	**473**	**550**	**1023**
Blacksmith	248	111	0	1	471	189	2	0	**360**	**662**	**1022**
Painter, Plumber, and Glazier	313	130	2	0	371	126	0	0	**445**	**497**	**942**
Army	98	7	0	0	661	161	0	0	**105**	**822**	**927**
Writers, Attorney, Solicitor, & Law student	451	25	0	0	406	31	0	0	**476**	**437**	**913**
Mason & Stone-cutter	206	19	0	0	616	54	0	0	**225**	**670**	**895**
Baker	222	87	7	1	362	163	8	0	**317**	**533**	**850**
Seamster & Seamstress	1	0	320	78	1	0	356	56	**399**	**413**	**812**
Lodging & Boarding House keeper	27	0	438	0	17	0	328	1	**465**	**346**	**811**
Porter, Messanger & Errand boy	400	28	4	0	340	23	9	2	**432**	**374**	**806**
Bookseller, Bookbinder, & Publisher	178	90	24	45	239	110	21	28	**337**	**398**	**735**
Grocer & tea dealer	138	55	28	1	256	85	92	0	**222**	**433**	**655**
Labourer, Agriculturer	53	6	32	9	346	51	80	9	**100**	**486**	**586**
Gardener	75	7	1	1	449	35	5	2	**84**	**491**	**575**
Schoolmaster, Mistress, & Assistant, tutor or governess	92	14	141	10	174	20	115	7	**257**	**316**	**573**
Surgeon, Apothecary & Medical Student	172	49	0	0	291	51	0	0	**221**	**342**	**563**
Spirit dealer & merchant	218	11	34	0	221	16	39	0	**263**	**276**	**539**
Flesher & Butcher	181	45	4	0	176	54	1	0	**230**	**231**	**461**
Carrier, Carter & Waggoner	68	13	0	0	305	61	1	0	**81**	**367**	**448**
Police Officer, Constable, & Watchman	149	0	0	0	202	0	0	0	**149**	**202**	**351**
Merchant	130	13	6	0	170	28	3	0	**149**	**201**	**350**
Coach maker (all branches)	128	36	1	0	129	47	0	0	**165**	**176**	**341**
Brass-founder	78	45	0	0	110	102	0	0	**123**	**212**	**335**

Jeweller, Goldsmith & Silversmith	103	34	2	0	129	48	4	0	**139**	**181**	**320**
Coach driver, coach guard & Postboy	155	8	0	0	137	18	0	0	**163**	**155**	**318**
Straw hat & Bonnet maker	3	0	95	22	0	0	126	47	**120**	**173**	**293**
Silk Manufacture (all branches)	7	0	8	7	122	28	41	48	**22**	**239**	**261**
Milk seller & Cow keeper	41	6	16	1	127	6	50	1	**64**	**184**	**248**
Hatter & Hat-maker	71	9	10	5	113	18	15	5	**95**	**151**	**246**
Ministers, Clergyman & students of Divinity	69	2	0	0	166	4	0	0	**71**	**170**	**241**
Type-founder	34	22	0	0	111	63	0	0	**56**	**174**	**230**
Tin-plate worker & Tinman	62	28	1	0	71	44	1	0	**91**	**116**	**207**
Engineer & Engine worker	44	21	0	0	86	37	0	0	**65**	**123**	**188**
Engraver	50	34	0	0	73	29	0	0	**84**	**102**	**186**
Carver & Gilder	59	26	0	0	60	33	1	0	**85**	**94**	**179**
Tobacconist, & snuff & tobacco manufacturer	40	38	3	1	52	40	1	0	**82**	**93**	**175**
Sawyer	61	3	0	0	106	1	1	0	**64**	**108**	**172**
Broker (branch not specified)	64	2	27	0	36	0	38	0	**93**	**74**	**167**
Sadler, Harness, & Collar Maker	63	21	0	0	63	18	0	0	**84**	**81**	**165**
Accountant	70	6	0	0	79	3	0	0	**76**	**82**	**158**
Advocate & Barrister	108	0	0	0	43	0	0	0	**108**	**43**	**151**
Chair-maker	97	4	0	0	41	4	0	0	**101**	**45**	**146**
Manufacture (all branches)	47	16	6	0	52	16	6	0	**69**	**74**	**143**
Artist	63	7	5	0	51	5	3	5	**75**	**64**	**139**
Cooper	38	5	0	0	76	15	0	0	**43**	**91**	**134**
Publican & Victualler	44	1	12	0	56	3	14	0	**57**	**73**	**130**
Slater	50	8	0	0	61	11	0	0	**58**	**72**	**130**
Woolen draper	97	3	1	0	14	7	0	0	**101**	**21**	**122**
Weaver (branch not specified)	27	4	2	0	80	4	1	0	**33**	**85**	**118**
Physician	79	0	0	0	37	0	0	0	**79**	**37**	**116**
Turner	31	13	0	0	43	10	0	0	**44**	**53**	**97**
Customs & Excise	13	0	0	0	62	2	0	0	**13**	**64**	**77**
Farmer & Grazier	21	1	0	0	52	2	0	0	**22**	**54**	**76**
Wine merchant	21	1	0	0	46	8	0	0	**22**	**54**	**76**

Table 3.4

County of Edinburgh - domanant occupations (1841)
&
County, City & Suburbs of Edinburgh - dominant occupations (1841)

Occupations	Total of County	Occupations	City, Suburbs & County
Servant, Domestic	20664	Servant, Domestic	35045
Labourer, Agriculturer	5809	Labourer, Agriculturer	6395
Labourer	4084	Labourer	6193
Boot & Shoemaker	3328	Boot & Shoemaker	5949
Dress maker & Milliner	2542	Dress maker & Milliner	4682
Tailor & Breeches maker	2390	Tailor & Breeches maker	4292
Carpenter, Joiner & Wright	1963	Clerk	3155
Clerk	1765	Carpenter, Joiner & Wright	3029
Blacksmith	1709	Blacksmith	2731
Mason & Stone-cutter	1605	Laundry-keeper, washer & Mangler	2676
Laundry-keeper, washer & Mangler	1508	Mason & Stone-cutter	2500
Coal miner	1367	Cabinet-maker & Upholster	2407
Baker	1322	Printer	2204
Porter, Messanger & Errand boy	1256	Baker	2172
Cabinet-maker & Upholster	1255	Army	2129
Gardener	1216	Painter, Plumber, and Glazier	2072
Army	1202	Porter, Messanger & Errand boy	2062
Printer	1181	Writers, Attorney, Solicitor, & Law student	1971
Painter, Plumber, and Glazier	1130	Lodging & Boarding House keeper	1859
Writers, Attorney, Solicitor, & Law student	1058	Gardener	1791
Carrier, Carter & Waggoner	1052	Seamster & Seamstress	1742
Lodging & Boarding House keeper	1048	Grocer & tea dealer	1652
Grocer & tea dealer	997	Bookseller, Bookbinder, & Publisher	1521
Seamster & Seamstress	930	Carrier, Carter & Waggoner	1500
Spirit dealer & merchant	825	Schoolmaster, Mistress, & Assistant, tutor or governess	1395
Schoolmaster, Mistress, & Assistant, tutor or governess	822	Coal miner	1370
Bookseller, Bookbinder, & Publisher	786	Spirit dealer & merchant	1364
Surgeon, Apothecary & Medical Student	676	Surgeon, Apothecary & Medical Student	1239

Farmer & Grazier	656
Flesher & Butcher	651
Merchant	536
Cooper	436
Fisherman	434
Police Officer, Constable, & Watchman	400
Coach driver, coach guard & Postboy	398
Coach maker (all branches)	373
Brass-founder	370
Ministers, Clergyman & students of Divinity	363
Straw hat & Bonnet maker	361
Engineer & Engine worker	348
Jeweller, Goldsmith & Silversmith	334
Sawyer	329
Milk seller & Cow keeper	328
Hatter & Hat-maker	305
Silk Manufacture (all branches)	264
Tin-plate worker & Tinman	253
Type-founder	246
Manufacture (all branches)	243
Customs & Excise	231
Slater	228
Weaver (branch not specified)	225
Tobacconist, & snuff & tobacco manufacturer	219
Carver & Gilder	213
Sadler, Harness, & Collar Maker	211
Engraver	206
Publican & Victualler	200
Accountant	191
Broker (branch not specified)	189
Advocate & Barrister	168
Artist	163
Chair-maker	151
Woolen draper	130
Physician	130
Turner	119
Wine merchant	101

Flesher & Butcher	1112
Merchant	886
Police Officer, Constable, & Watchman	751
Farmer & Grazier	732
Coach driver, coach guard & Postboy	716
Coach maker (all branches)	714
Brass-founder	705
Jeweller, Goldsmith & Silversmith	654
Straw hat & Bonnet maker	654
Ministers, Clergyman & students of Divinity	604
Milk seller & Cow keeper	576
Cooper	570
Hatter & Hat-maker	551
Engineer & Engine worker	536
Silk Manufacture (all branches)	525
Sawyer	501
Type-founder	476
Tin-plate worker & Tinman	460
Fisherman	436
Tobacconist, & snuff & tobacco manufacturer	394
Engraver	392
Carver & Gilder	392
Manufacture (all branches)	386
Sadler, Harness, & Collar Maker	376
Slater	358
Broker (branch not specified)	356
Accountant	349
Weaver (branch not specified)	343
Publican & Victualler	330
Advocate & Barrister	319
Customs & Excise	308
Artist	302
Chair-maker	297
Woolen draper	252
Physician	246
Turner	216
Wine merchant	177

Appendix 3

Table 3.5
Class I 'Professional Class', Orders 1 -3 (1861)[3]

		All Ages	% of Order1
1	**Order I**		
	Civ. Serv. not in Revenue	220	13.89
	Post Office	302	19.07
	Inland Revenue	169	10.67
	Customs	139	8.78
	Gov. Messeng., Workmen	52	3.28
	Dockyard Artificer	2	0.13
	Peer & M. P.	7	0.44
2	Magistrate	24	1.52
	Police	417	26.33
	Prison Officer	22	1.39
	Union & Parish Officer	58	3.66
	Sheriff's Clerk& Officer	16	1.01
	Municipal Officer, etc.	62	3.91
3	East India & Col. Serv.	94	5.93
		N=1584	
	Order II		**%**
1	Army Officer	119	5.17
	Army half-pay Officer	197	8.56
	Soldier	1528	66.41
	Chelsea Pensioner	237	10.30
	Militia	49	2.13
	Volunteer	7	0.30
2	Navy Officer	40	1.74
	Navy half-pay Officer	42	1.83
	Seaman, R. N.	59	2.56
	Royal Marine	5	0.22
	Greenwich Pensioner	11	0.48
	Coast Guard	4	0.17
	Officer of Naval Hospital	3	0.13
		N=2301	
	Order III		**%**
1	Establish. Church Minis.	114	2.11
	Free Church Minister	90	1.67
	United Presby. Minister	74	1.37
	Roman Catholic Priest	19	0.35
	Minister of the other Denom.	83	1.54
	Missionary, Div. Stud.	261	4.84
	Church Officer, etc.	74	1.37
2	Judge, Advocate	159	2.95

	W. S., Solicitor	613	11.36
	Law Student	55	1.02
	Sheriff, Sheriff-Sub., etc.	15	0.28
	Officer of Law Court	43	0.80
	Law Clerk	820	15.19
3	Physician	243	4.50
	Surgeon	120	2.22
	Medical Student, Assist.	594	11.01
	Dentist	76	1.41
	Druggist, Apothecary	240	4.45
	Electrician, Cupper, etc.	17	0.31
4	Author, Editor, Writer	50	0.93
	Newspaper Reporter	18	0.33
	Graduate of Univer., etc.	30	0.56
5	Artist, Painter	153	2.83
	Sculptor	33	0.61
	Engraver	243	4.50
	Photographic Artist	71	1.32
	Engraver and others	11	0.20
6	Musician	92	1.70
	Music Master	71	1.32
7	Actor	34	0.63
	Engaged in the Theatres, etc.	48	0.89
8	Schoolmaster	148	2.74
	Teacher of Languages	57	1.06
	Teacher of Mathematics	15	0.28
	Teacher (general)	449	8.32
	Teach. of Dancing, Gym.	21	0.39
	Prof. of Special Sciences	38	0.70
	Teacher of Draw., Writ.	18	0.33
9	Civil Engineer	107	1.98
	Botanist & Others	14	0.26
		N=5397	

[1] Appendix A is based on tables XLI and XLII in the Annual Report of the Registrar General (1865), Edinburgh : lvi-lvii.

[2] PP (1844) XXVII : 22-27. The definition I have used for 'dominant occupation' is any occupational title for which 50 or more employees were enumerated in the Census figures. This definition is used consistently throughout the following tables.

[3] PP (1864) LI : 265-272.

Appendix 4

Code Book

As chapter four explained, rather than use an inappropriate 'industrial' code, it was decided to construct two sets of codes that would be especially sensitive to middle class occupational structure of Edinburgh. An 'organisation' code was constructed around an interpretation of the nature of the work done implied by the occupational title; and a 'production' code was constructed which ranked occupational titles by the nature of the industry, irrespective of the work done. In this Appendix the 'code book', detailing which occupations were assigned to which class categories, is reproduced; the codes are to be interpreted as follows :

I.D. Each occupational title was given a unique identifying code which allowed the title to be linked back to the original pollbook and thus to the correct historical person. This procedure is always 'good practice' and it makes it possible to conduct further linkages and analysis.

FREQ. This refers to the frequency with which the exact wording of the occupational title appreared in the 1852/4 parliamentary pollbook.

TITLE This refers to the exact wording of occupational title recorded in the 1852/4 parliamentary pollbook.

ORG. This refers to occupations coded by 'organisation'. Each classification was given an identifying code (e.g. all whose occupation in terms of organisation was 'land' were coded 10, all in 'distribution & processing' were coded 30, and so on). In the first half of this code book, the occupational titles are arranged under the organisational codes.

PROD. This refers to occupations coded by 'production'. Each classification was given an identifying code, which was split into two : the first two digits refer to the production

undertaken, the second two digits group together similar occupations within each production code. Thus, for the example of advocates coded by 'production', '21' refers to 'law' and '01' identifies all advocates within the 'law' 'production' code.

I.D.	ORG.	PROD	FREQ.	TITLE
16	62	2101	171	Advocate

One point to note is that the 'production' codes 1-9 are turned into two digits by placing a zero as a pre-fix. Thus '1 Agriculture' should be read as '01 Agriculture' and so on. To take the first three entries coded by 'production' as examples :

Occupation coded by 'production'

I. D.	ORG.	PROD.	FREQ.	TITLE
				1. AGRICULTURE
214	10	100	18	farmer
215	10	101	1	farmer (heritable subjects near Portland Place)
391	10	102	1	late farmer

The 'production' code for the '18 farmers' is 01 for Agriculture and 00 for its internal classification. The next production code for '1 farmer (heritable subjects near Portland Place' is 01 for Agriculture and 01 for its internal classification. The next title is '1 late farmer', and this should be read as 01 for Agriculture and 02 for its internal classification.

In the second half of this code book, the occupational titles are arranged under the 'production' codes.

Occupation coded by 'organisation'

I. D.	ORG.	PROD	FREQ.	TITLE
				10. LAND
214	10	100	18	farmer
391	10	102	1	late farmer
392	10	102	1	late farmer (Westerhall Cot.)
215	10	101	1	farmer (heritable subjects near Portland Place)
742	10	125	2	tacksman
183	10	103	27	dairyman
170	10	103	40	cowfeeder
171	10	104	1	cowfeeder (& byre Heriot Mount, Hercles Street)
335	10	105	1	jun. cowfeeder
389	10	106	1	late cowfeeder
226	10	107	1	forrester
266	10	108	1	grazr. (Spring Val. Villa)
609	10	124	2	portioner
				11. GARDNERS
237	11	119	40	gardener
238	11	120	2	gardener (Newington gardens)
239	11	121	1	gardener, Bainfield
380	11	122	1	landscape gardener
477	11	123	6	nurseryman
				20. QUARRIES
138	20	301	1	Collier
				30. DISTRIBUTION & PROCESSING
96	30	109	3	cattle salesman
671	30	118	10	seedsman
31	30	200	163	baker
323	30	201	2	jun. baker
32	30	202	1	baker and confectioner
340	30	206	2	jun. grocer
268	30	207	248	grocer
393	30	208	2	late grocer
267	30	209	3	green grocer
68	30	210	7	butcher

338	30	211	2	jun. flesher
612	30	212	6	poulterer
222	30	213	97	flesher
332	30	214	2	jun. confectioner
153	30	215	33	confectioner
154	30	216	1	confectioner, refresh. rooms
220	30	218	6	fishmonger
232	30	219	16	fruiterer
269	30	225	3	grocer & spirit dealer
401	30	230	1	late tobacconist
765	30	234	37	tobacconist
361	30	237	1	jun. tobacconist
626	30	239	1	purveyor
757	30	262	3	temp. coffee-house keeper
758	30	263	1	temperance hotel
759	30	264	1	temperance hotel keeper
135	30	265	8	coffee house keeper
788	30	269	2	vintner
204	30	271	2	eatinghouse keeper
428	30	272	5	lodging-house keeper
635	30	273	1	railway sta. hotel keeper
427	30	274	1	lodging keeper
343	30	275	1	jun. hotel keeper
299	30	276	7	innkeeper
291	30	279	30	hotel keeper
746	30	281	19	tavern keeper
623	30	282	1	publican
786	30	297	8	victualler
199	30	510	23	druggist
390	30	520	1	late druggist
700	30	630	7	skinner
701	30	630	1	skinner (office & c.)
355	30	632	1	jun. skinner
307	30	700	49	ironmonger
233	30	703	1	furng. ironmr.
289	30	900	23	hosier
342	30	902	1	jun. hosier
807	30	907	9	woollen draper
194	30	910	89	draper
336	30	911	1	jun. draper
290	30	912	1	hosier and glover
418	30	915	7	linen draper
420	30	915	1	linendraper
375	30	920	4	laceman
362	30	938	1	jun. upholsterer
782	30	939	50	upholsterer
696	30	950	20	silk mercer

256	30	1001	1	glover
283	30	1002	1	hatters salesman
282	30	1003	21	hatter
275	30	1005	8	haberdasher
579	30	1006	1	Outfitter
325	30	1010	3	jun. bootmaker
313	30	1020	52	jeweller
344	30	1021	1	jun. jeweller
450	30	1029	3	mercer
50	30	1200	104	bookseller
324	30	1210	6	jun. bookseller
384	30	1211	1	late bookseller
615	30	1230	7	printseller
679	30	1240	2	senior bookseller
357	30	1250	1	jun. stationer
721	30	1251	46	stationer
729	30	2604	1	storekeeper
278	30	2301	1	haircutter
279	30	2301	19	hairdresser
467	30	2520	2	music seller
471	30	2521	10	musicseller
594	30	2546	3	perfumer
655	30	2600	3	salesman
692	30	2601	4	shopkeeper
693	30	2602	7	shopman
694	30	2603	1	shopowner
97	30	277	1	cellarman
193	30	294	1	draff-salesman
296	30	278	1	house proprietor

31. DEALERS

95	31	130	1	cattle dealer
288	31	131	1	horse dealer
164	31	135	3	corn dealer
264	31	136	1	grain dealer
445	31	137	4	meal dealer
621	31	217	10	provision dealer
785	31	250	64	victual dealer
747	31	270	17	tea dealer
713	31	280	187	spirit dealer
250	31	400	1	glass dealer
454	31	709	2	metal dealer
223	31	930	1	floor cloth dealer
809	31	940	1	worsted dealer
405	31	600	3	leather factor

591	31	1527	12	pawnbroker
27	31	1570	19	Auctioneer
184	31	2547	1	dealer in paintings
601	31	2549	4	picture dealer
172	31	2552	1	crystal dealer
234	31	2556	19	furniture dealer
770	31	2640	1	toy dealer
558	31	2525	1	of royal bazaar
230	31	220	1	fruit mer. Regent Arch
231	31	221	2	fruit merchant
207	31	222	1	egg.mer.Scott's Entry
163	31	245	1	corn chandler
796	31	246	1	wax chandler

40. TRANSPORT

2	40	1400	1	(coachhouse)
7	40	1401	1	(stable & coach ho.)
9	40	1401	1	(Stables & c.)
8	40	1403	2	(stable)
10	40	1404	1	(stables)
424	40	1404	1	livery stabler
716	40	1406	5	stabler
717	40	1407	1	stabler (Lane)
423	40	1408	1	livery stable keeper
84	40	1413	3	carrier
85	40	1420	2	carter
86	40	1440	1	cartwright
197	40	1465	1	drayman
122	40	1470	1	coach driver
129	40	1472	7	coachman
388	40	1474	1	late coachman
476	40	1479	1	noddy hirer
123	40	1480	20	coach hirer
126	40	1482	4	coach proprietor

45. COMMERCE

167	45	140	20	corn merchant
168	45	141	1	corn merchant (house and office, Lauder Park)
169	45	142	1	corn mrcht (Greenhill Gar.)
334	45	145	1	jun. corn merchant
265	45	146	1	grain merchant
339	45	147	1	jun. grain merchant
670	45	148	7	seed merchant
676	45	149	1	sen. corn merchant
622	45	217	22	provision merchant

764	45	235	1	tobacco merchant
705	45	238	1	small ware merchant
748	45	260	12	tea merchant
136	45	261	2	coffee merchant
714	45	283	68	spirit merchant
314	45	285	1	Jn. wine & sprt. mert.
801	45	286	50	wine merchant
803	45	287	1	wine merchant, (Drumnd. Crt.)
802	45	288	1	wine merchant (B.Lodge)
367	45	289	1	jun. wine merchant
800	45	290	4	wine & spirit merchant
134	45	315	25	coal merchant
727	45	316	1	stone merchant
728	45	317	1	stoneware merchant
359	45	318	1	jun. stone merchant
252	45	409	2	glass merchant
103	45	430	23	china merchant
576	45	540	1	oil merchant
406	45	605	13	leather merchant
280	45	705	1	hardware merchant
305	45	707	3	iron merchant
455	45	736	2	metal merchant
806	45	908	1	wool merchant
82	45	929	1	carpet warehouseman
81	45	931	1	carpet merchant
645	45	935	1	rope merchant
224	45	936	1	floor cloth merchant
419	45	941	1	linen warhouse
374	45	951	4	lace merchant
775	45	970	4	trimming merchant
686	45	1008	1	shawl merchant
690	45	1011	3	shoe merchant
368	45	1100	1	jun. wood merchant
805	45	1103	7	wood merchant
587	45	1228	1	paper merchant
629	45	1253	1	quill merchant
151	45	1569	4	commission merchant
792	45	1575	1	warehouse
793	45	1576	15	warehouseman
451	45	1590	273	merchant
345	45	1592	6	jun. merchant
452	45	1593	1	merchant (Court)
394	45	1595	6	late merchant
408	45	2510	1	leech importer
599	45	2522	1	pianoforte merchant
575	45	2554	1	oil and colour merchant
277	45	2578	1	hair merchant

217	45	2580	1	feather merchant
771	45	2641	1	toy merchant

46. BANKERS

36	46	1500	13	banker
34	46	1501	3	Bank of Scotland
484	46	1501	8	of Bank of Scotland
61	46	1502	1	Brit. Lin. Co. Bank
62	46	1503	4	British Linen Co.
140	46	1504	1	Com. Bank
146	46	1504	1	Commercial Bank
506	46	1504	9	of Commercial Bank
482	46	1505	2	of B. L. bank
483	46	1505	1	of B. Linen Company
491	46	1505	1	of British Lin. Co.
492	46	1505	1	of British Linen Bank
493	46	1505	2	of British Linen Co.
494	46	1505	1	of British Linen Company
518	46	1506	1	of E. and G. Bank
520	46	1506	1	of Edin. and Glasgow Bank
523	46	1507	1	of Equitable Loan Company
539	46	1507	1	of Loan Company
557	46	1508	1	of Royal Bank
648	46	1508	1	Royal Bank
544	46	1509	8	of National Bank
63	46	1510	32	broker
353	46	1511	2	jun. sharebroker
358	46	1512	1	jun. stockbroker
568	46	1513	2	of Union Bank
561	46	1514	1	of Scot. Equitable Society
684	46	1515	3	sharebroker
89	46	1516	1	cashier Bank of Scot
90	46	1521	1	cashier of Scot. Wid. Fund
91	46	712	1	cashier to C.D. Young & Co.
725	46	1525	16	stockbroker

47. AGENTS & TRAVELLERS

94	47	129	4	cattle agent
165	47	143	2	corn factor
166	47	144	1	corn factor, (Lochrin Mills)
287	47	150	1	hop and seed agent
732	47	267	1	sugar agent
132	47	310	9	coal agent
20	47	734	1	agent for Falkirk Iron Co.
118	47	906	1	cloth agent

474	47	1268	1	newspaper agent
632	47	1492	6	railway agent
772	47	1540	13	traveller
773	47	1541	1	traveller (Oakfield House)
774	47	1542	1	travr. (Spring Val. Villa)
149	47	1543	20	commission agent
150	47	1545	1	commission agent (1 Farquharson Place)
449	47	1546	1	mercantile agent
141	47	1547	1	com.traveller
147	47	1547	17	commercial traveller
145	47	1549	7	commercial agent
320	47	1579	1	jun. agent
15	47	1580	1	advertising agent
19	47	1581	53	agent
244	47	1582	2	general agent
260	47	1583	1	goods agent
293	47	1586	4	house agent
294	47	1589	2	house factor
137	47	1591	5	collector

48. CLERKS & BOOKEEPERS

116	48	1551	1	clerk, Union Bank
754	48	1553	8	teller
755	48	1554	1	teller Brit. Lin. Co. Bank
756	48	1555	1	teller National Bank
111	48	1568	1	clerk Bank of Scotland
115	48	1701	1	clerk, Police Court
112	48	1930	1	clerk Edin. & L. Gas Co.
18	48	2101	1	advocates clerk
49	48	2303	9	bookkeeper
109	48	2310	77	clerk
110	48	2311	1	clerk (Jordanburn)
329	48	2312	1	jun. clerk
573	48	2315	1	office keeper

50. MANUFACTURING

763	50	231	7	tobacco manufacturer
457	50	243	7	miller
458	50	244	4	millmaster
711	50	268	2	soda water manufacturer
436	50	284	1	maltster
57	50	291	37	brewer
58	50	292	1	brewer, brewery
59	50	293	3	brewery
192	50	295	2	distiller

327	50	296	1	jun. brewery
577	50	298	1	operative brewer
251	50	401	1	glass manufacturer
709	50	503	1	soap manufacturer
814	50	538	1	zinc manufact.
6	50	713	1	(of C.D. Young & Co.)
306	50	714	4	ironfounder
326	50	715	1	jun. brassfounder
54	50	716	25	brassfounder
473	50	719	1	New Panmure Foundry
585	50	719	1	Panmure Foundry
106	50	730	23	civil engineer
768	50	754	2	tool manufacturer
337	50	758	1	jun. engineer
209	50	759	13	engineer
442	50	800	18	manufactuer
376	50	820	1	lamp manufacturer
119	50	901	98	clothier
675	50	903	1	sen. clothier
797	50	905	2	weaver
143	50	925	2	comb manufacturer
152	50	926	5	compositor
695	50	937	4	silk dyer
651	50	942	2	sack manufacturer
652	50	942	1	sacking manufacturer
387	50	948	1	late clothr.
330	50	949	3	jun. clothier
221	50	952	1	flax dresser
80	50	960	2	carpet manufacturer
201	50	976	10	dyer
202	50	977	1	dyer (& 64 Potterow)
373	50	989	2	lace manufacturer
281	50	1004	5	hat manufacturer
685	50	1030	2	shawl manufacturer
780	50	1035	1	umbrella manufacturer
64	50	1130	1	brush & trunk manufacturer
66	50	1131	2	brush manufacturer
162	50	1142	1	cork manufacturer
777	50	1184	2	trunk manufacturer
779	50	1273	8	typefounder
603	50	1313	2	pipe manufacturer
702	50	1314	1	slate manufacturer
124	50	1409	1	coach lamp manufacturer
580	50	1587	1	overseer
241	50	1900	1	gas meter manufacturer
798	50	2517	2	whip manufacturer
276	50	2550	2	hair manufacturer

625	50	720	1	punch cutter
638	50	255	1	rectifier
719	50	722	1	stamp cutter
760	50	9900	1	tertius manufacturer

51. MANAGERS & EMPLOYERS

439	51	299	1	manager of wine company
475	51	1227	3	newspaper proprietor
261	51	1421	1	goods supt. Cal. Rail.
634	51	1423	1	railway goods manager
720	51	1424	1	station mr. E. & G. Rly.
733	51	1425	1	superintend. of Ry. Station
734	51	1426	3	superintendant
440	51	1584	1	manager Scot. Prov. Inst.
441	51	1585	1	mangr. of Cal. Loan Co.
263	51	1735	1	governor of prison
262	51	1736	1	governor
300	51	1740	3	inspector
735	51	1745	1	supt. of Court House
301	51	1935	1	inspector Edinr. Gas Co.
98	51	2340	1	chairman
437	51	2345	1	Man. S. P. Inst.
438	51	711	1	manager for C.D. Young & Co.
528	51	1939	1	of Gas Company
569	51	1940	2	of Water Company
133	51	300	4	coal master

55. CRAFT

216	55	170	3	farrier
710	55	266	1	soda water maker
249	55	405	4	glass cutter
253	55	405	2	glasscutter
254	55	407	5	glazier
311	55	425	3	japanner
595	55	440	2	pewterer
787	55	505	1	vinegar maker
404	55	601	1	leather cutter
745	55	610	5	tanner
653	55	637	20	saddler
174	55	647	14	currier
175	55	648	1	currier, (Baird's Close)
674	55	717	1	sen. brassfounder
55	55	718	25	brassfounder
723	55	731	1	steelyard maker
761	55	732	1	tinplater

762	55	733	6	tinsmith
715	55	735	1	spur maker
433	55	737	6	machine maker
456	55	738	2	metal refiner
766	55	739	1	tool cutter
804	55	740	4	wire worker
767	55	741	1	tool maker Aitken's Land
778	55	742	6	turner
176	55	743	7	cutler
158	55	744	10	cooper
656	55	745	1	saw maker
769	55	746	1	toolmaker
248	55	747	1	gilder
160	55	749	2	coppersmith
257	55	750	1	gold beater
356	55	751	1	jun. smith
159	55	752	1	cooper and fish curer
258	55	753	12	goldsmith
117	55	755	2	clockmaker
208	55	756	1	enameller
210	55	757	46	engraver
270	55	760	8	gunmaker
271	55	761	2	gunsmith
341	55	762	1	jun. gunmaker
677	55	763	1	sen. gunmaker
697	55	764	1	silver chaser
698	55	765	1	silverplate
354	55	766	1	jun. silver plater
699	55	767	9	silversmith
794	55	768	1	watch-casemaker
365	55	769	2	jun. watchmaker
795	55	770	31	watchmaker
426	55	775	1	locksmith
46	55	780	14	blacksmith
706	55	783	33	smith
707	55	784	1	smith (Mint,)
708	55	785	1	smith, (& 17 Canning Pl.)
142	55	924	7	comb maker
647	55	933	2	ropemaker
646	55	934	1	rope spinner
432	55	943	3	macer
366	55	956	1	jun. weaver
590	55	957	1	pattern designer
722	55	959	6	staymaker
730	55	1005	1	straw hat maker
272	55	1009	1	gutta percha shoemr.
399	55	1013	1	late shoemaker

51	55	1015	3	boot closer
691	55	1018	102	shoemaker
53	55	1019	1	bow maker
382	55	1022	9	lapidary
808	55	1023	1	working jeweller
52	55	1031	88	bootmaker
673	55	1038	2	sen. bootmaker
235	55	1045	3	furrier
70	55	1048	1	buttonmaker
743	55	1050	95	tailor
744	55	1055	5	tailor and clothier
678	55	1057	1	sen. tailor
56	55	1065	2	breeches maker
79	55	1110	3	carpenter
28	55	1113	1	axle maker
581	55	1125	1	packing case maker
776	55	1126	6	trunk maker
312	55	1128	3	jewel case maker
316	55	1137	30	joiner
211	55	1138	1	engraver on wood
161	55	1140	3	cork cutter
189	55	1154	1	dftsman & joiner
292	55	1156	1	house carpenter
73	55	1164	95	cabinet maker
383	55	1164	1	late beam maker
65	55	1167	6	brush maker
689	55	1168	1	ship carpenter
386	55	1174	2	late cabinetmaker
333	55	1178	1	jun. cork cutter
47	55	1180	1	boat builder
614	55	1215	89	printer
347	55	1247	1	jun. paper maker
212	55	1235	2	envelope maker
724	55	1270	1	stereotype founder
409	55	1273	1	letterfounder
410	55	1274	1	letterfounder smith
349	55	1275	2	jun. printer
586	55	1280	9	paper maker
588	55	1285	1	paper ruler
589	55	1286	4	paper stainer
48	55	1290	23	bookbinder
607	55	1299	2	pocket-book maker
726	55	1312	1	stone carver
606	55	1315	34	plumber
604	55	1320	16	plasterer
605	55	1321	1	plastr. (see 12 Gardners Cres.)
87	55	1331	12	Carver

88	55	1332	4	carver and gilder
466	55	1338	2	moulder
60	55	1340	2	bricklayer
398	55	1343	1	late painter
295	55	1350	4	house painter
297	55	1350	1	house-painter
582	55	1351	72	painter
584	55	1352	1	painter in Simpson's Court
583	55	1353	1	painter and glazier
810	55	1355	50	wright
459	55	1356	6	millwright
443	55	1364	2	marble cutter
348	55	1367	1	jun. plasterer
444	55	1370	14	mason
83	55	1410	1	carriage maker
125	55	1411	10	coach maker
127	55	1412	1	coach spring maker
121	55	1417	12	coach builder
128	55	1418	1	coach trimmer
654	55	1428	1	sailmaker
130	55	1444	1	coachwright
331	55	1487	1	jun. coach builder
240	55	1938	1	gas meter maker
242	55	1942	3	gasfitter
195	55	2350	2	draughtsman
660	55	2515	5	seal engraver
255	55	2531	1	globe maker
259	55	2533	1	golf-ball maker
781	55	2534	4	umbrellamaker
284	55	2535	2	heraldie engraver
783	55	2536	1	venetian blind maker
285	55	2538	1	historical painter
74	55	2539	2	candlemaker
322	55	2540	1	jun. artist
799	55	2541	1	wigmaker
381	55	2542	2	landscape painter
460	55	2543	1	miniature painter
352	55	2544	1	jun. sculptor
219	55	2545	3	fishing tackle maker
598	55	2555	8	pianoforte maker
469	55	2557	2	musical instrument maker
470	55	2559	3	musician
610	55	2561	10	portrait painter
24	55	2562	1	artificial flower maker
600	55	2563	1	picture cleaner
30	55	2564	1	bagpipe maker
225	55	2565	1	flower maker

602	55	2566	2	picture framer
40	55	2567	4	basket maker
659	55	2572	5	sculptor
596	55	2581	2	photographer
190	55	723	1	die and stamp cutter
191	55	724	3	die cutter
198	55	1198	2	dressingcase maker
298	55	790	1	implementmaker
304	55	791	3	instrument maker
402	55	793	1	lath-splitter
403	55	1112	1	lather
657	55	1111	1	sawyer

60. PROFESSIONS

21	60	520	1	apothecary
100	60	525	13	chemist
101	60	527	3	chemist and druggist
14	60	1550	143	Accountant
23	60	2354	27	architect
321	60	2355	2	jun. architect
185	60	2360	20	dentist
218	60	2529	1	fencing master
196	60	2532	2	drawing master
377	60	115	1	land steward
378	60	116	2	land surveyor
379	60	118	1	land valuator
22	60	1530	2	appraiser
461	60	340	2	mining engineer

61. MEDICAL MEN

718	61	1822	1	staff surgeon
739	61	1825	2	surgeon R.N.
245	61	2201	1	general practitioner
430	61	2205	132	M. D.
431	61	2206	1	M.D. (College of Surgeons)
360	61	2210	2	jun. surgeon
400	61	2211	1	late surgeon
736	61	2212	77	surgeon
737	61	2213	1	surgeon (Parkside House)
597	61	2215	4	physician
213	61	2216	1	F.R.C.P.
446	61	2230	1	medical galvanist
447	61	2235	1	medical herbalist
448	61	2240	1	medical student
784	61	2320	6	veterinary surgeon

738	61	2330	2	surgeon dentist
173	61	2579	1	cupper

62. LEGAL

16	62	2101	171	advocate
17	62	2102	1	advocate (Woodburn)
319	62	2103	3	jun. advocate
186	62	2120	1	dep. clerk of Session
187	62	2125	1	dep. dr. of Chancery
425	62	2130	10	LL. D.
680	62	2137	1	sergeant
616	62	2138	1	probationer
309	62	2140	1	j.p. constable
416	62	2141	1	lieutenant of police
712	62	2147	22	solicitor
369	62	2148	6	jun. writer
364	62	2149	1	jun. W.S. (B.Brae)
363	62	2150	19	jun. W.S.
789	62	2152	370	W. S.
790	62	2153	1	W.S. (& coach house)
811	62	2154	204	writer
812	62	2160	9	writing master
650	62	2170	147	S.S.C
351	62	2175	4	jun. S.S.C.
688	62	2188	3	sheriff officer
687	62	2189	2	Sheriff Clerk's Office
429	62	2190	1	Lord of Session
72	62	2196	1	C.S.
178	62	2197	3	D.C.S.
637	62	2199	3	recorder

63. RELIGION

37	63	2000	1	baptist minister
38	63	2001	1	Baptist missionary
71	63	2002	7	C. E.
92	63	2003	1	Catholic Bishop
93	63	2004	1	catholic clergyman
99	63	2005	2	chaplain
104	63	2006	3	city missionary
108	63	2007	3	clergyman
179	63	2008	24	D.D.
180	63	2009	1	D.D. (Arthur Lodge)
395	63	2010	1	late minister
462	63	2011	72	minister
463	63	2012	1	minister (Kilmuir House)

464	63	2013	5	missionary
682	63	2014	1	sess. clk. of St Cuthberts
683	63	2015	2	session clerk

64. EDUCATION

749	64	2400	85	teacher
107	64	2401	1	classical teacher
227	64	2402	1	French master
229	64	2403	1	French teacher
407	64	2404	1	lecturer
620	64	2404	2	professor of music
468	64	2405	3	music teacher
617	64	2406	12	professor
618	64	2407	1	professor of astronomy
619	64	2408	1	professor of German
613	64	2410	1	Principal of University
750	64	2410	1	teacher (Westerhall Villa)
751	64	2411	3	teacher of dancing
752	64	2412	1	teacher of mathematics
753	64	2413	8	teacher of music
639	64	2420	1	rector, Normal School
371	64	2180	1	L.L.D. teacher
731	64	2490	3	student
29	64	2491	1	B. student

65. MISC. SERVICES

643	65	156	1	riddle maker
200	65	504	8	drysalter
661	65	1291	1	sec. Ed. Com. of Free Church
33	65	1523	10	bank messenger
35	65	1524	1	bank porter
608	65	1419	4	porter
434	65	1423	2	mail guard
453	65	1440	7	messenger
554	65	1490	1	of Railway Company
663	65	1540	1	Sec. Scot. Equitable Co.
664	65	1565	1	sec. Scot. Prov. Inst.
665	65	1566	1	sec. Union Bank
666	65	1567	1	Sec.Scot.Prov.Inst
155	65	1710	1	constable
203	65	1903	1	E. and L. Gas Co.
669	65	1980	1	See. Edin. & Leith Gas Co.
228	65	2528	1	french polisher
611	65	2530	5	postmaster
631	65	2537	1	Racket Court keeper

41	65	2548	1	bath-keeper
42	65	2551	4	bell hanger
43	65	2553	1	bell hanger (Hill Mount)
44	65	2558	1	bird stuffer
75	65	2560	1	canine repository
25	65	2568	18	artist
26	65	2569	2	artist's colourman
385	65	2570	1	late butler
69	65	2571	3	butler
247	65	2573	1	gentleman's servant
310	65	2574	1	janitor
372	65	2575	1	labourer
102	65	2576	2	chimney sweeper
681	65	2577	11	servant
370	65	2582	1	keeper of Lib. Hall, Coll.
667	65	2583	1	secy. of Bible Society
668	65	2584	1	secy. of Edinr. Bible Society
412	65	2585	2	librarian
662	65	2586	1	Sec. Phil. Inst.
413	65	2587	1	librarian, Philos Inst.
565	65	2588	1	of Signet Library
488	65	2589	1	of Blind Asylum
521	65	2590	1	of Edinburgh Cemetery
658	65	2591	1	Scottish Academy
556	65	2592	2	of Register House
640	65	2593	1	register house
791	65	2594	1	waiter
578	65	2595	8	optician
120	65	9900	1	club master
156	65	2365	4	contractor
157	65	2366	1	contractor (Heriot C.)

66. PRINTING & PUBLISHING

205	66	1201	1	ed. Edinburgh Guardian
206	66	1202	4	editor
350	66	1203	1	jun. publisher
411	66	1204	1	letterpress printer
421	66	1205	1	literary editor
422	66	1206	10	lithographer
497	66	1207	1	of Caledn. Mer. Office
498	66	1207	1	of Caledonian Mercury
508	66	1208	1	of Courant Office
545	66	1209	1	of North British Advertiser
562	66	1218	1	of Scotsman
563	66	1218	1	of Scotsman Office
641	66	1220	1	reporter

624	66	1225	14	publisher
				70. CONSTRUCTION
67	70	1301	77	builder
328	70	1302	1	jun. builder
703	70	1303	3	slater
704	70	1304	1	slater Roxh. Cl.
633	70	1491	1	railway contractor
				90. INDEPENDENT INCOME
39	90	2701	7	Bart.
246	90	2702	1	gentleman
273	90	2703	1	H.D. of Prestnfld. Bart.
				95. NATIONAL GOVT.
302	95	1601	2	inspector of poor
303	95	1602	1	inspector of schools
396	95	1603	1	late of Customs
397	95	1604	3	late of Excise
525	95	1605	1	of Exchequer
627	95	1606	1	Queen's messanger
628	95	1607	1	Queen's Remembrancer
				96. LOCAL GOVT.
644	96	1430	1	road surveyor
741	96	1432	1	surveyor of roads
105	96	1701	1	city officer
113	96	1702	1	clerk of Police
114	96	1703	2	clerk of Works
181	96	1704	1	D.G. of Isle
188	96	1705	1	deputy-commis. general
504	96	1706	1	of City Chambers
740	96	1710	9	surveyor
				97. DEFENCE
76	97	1801	42	captain
77	97	1802	1	captain H.E.I.C.S.
139	97	1804	11	colonel
144	97	1805	1	commander
148	97	1806	1	commissary general
243	97	1808	1	general
274	97	1809	8	H.E.I.C.S.

346	97	1810	1	jun. messenger at arms
414	97	1811	5	lieut. col.
415	97	1812	7	lieutenant
417	97	1813	1	lieutenant R. N.
435	97	1814	19	major
478	97	1815	1	of Adjutant's Office
574	97	1816	1	officer
592	97	1817	1	paymaster
559	97	1820	1	of Royal Navy
78	97	1821	1	captain R.N.
593	97	1822	1	paymaster, R.N.
630	97	1823	3	R.N.
636	97	1825	1	rear admiral
649	97	1826	1	royal marines

99. NO OCC. TITLE

3	99	2899	1	(Coll. Lib. Hall)
4	99	2899	1	(Drum. St Crt.)
	99	2899	8	A.C.S.
13	99	2899	1	A.M.
45	99	2899	1	Blackford Lodge
177	99	2899	1	D.C.J.
182	99	2899	2	D.K.S.
236	99	2899	1	G.H.
308	99	2899	1	J. G.
317	99	2899	2	JT
318	99	2899	8	jun.
465	99	2899	1	Morocco's Land
472	99	2899	1020	n./a.
479	99	2899	1	of Aldbar
480	99	2899	1	of Ardeer
481	99	2899	1	of Arkleton
485	99	2899	1	of Binny
486	99	2899	1	of Black Castle
487	99	2899	1	of Blair Drumd.
489	99	2899	1	of Bognie
490	99	2899	1	of Bowland
495	99	2899	1	of Burnhead
496	99	2899	1	of Calderhall
499	99	2899	1	of Camelon
500	99	2899	1	of Carcant
501	99	2899	1	of Cargen
502	99	2899	1	of Castlehuntly
503	99	2899	1	of Chisholm
505	99	2899	1	of Clober
507	99	2899	1	of Corrymony

509	99	2899	1	of Craiglockhart
510	99	2899	1	of Crieff
511	99	2899	1	of Culterallers
512	99	2899	1	of Dalruscan
513	99	2899	1	of Dean
514	99	2899	1	of Denniston
515	99	2899	1	of Dreghorn
516	99	2899	1	of Duchally
517	99	2899	1	of Duchray
519	99	2899	1	of Easter Bush
522	99	2899	1	of Edmonstone
524	99	2899	1	of Ettrick Bank
526	99	2899	1	of Firth
527	99	2899	1	of Fullerton & Co.
529	99	2899	1	of Gilmerton
530	99	2899	1	of Glasslie
531	99	2899	1	of Glendouran
532	99	2899	1	of Gogar Burn
533	99	2899	1	of Grange
534	99	2899	1	of Kemback
535	99	2899	1	of Lamanca
536	99	2899	1	of Laretburn
537	99	2899	1	of Leitchton
538	99	2899	1	of Lethangie
540	99	2899	1	of Marlie
541	99	2899	1	of Morphie
542	99	2899	1	of Morton
543	99	2899	1	of Mortonhall
546	99	2899	1	of Ochtertyre
547	99	2899	1	of Orrok
548	99	2899	2	of Overmains
549	99	2899	1	of Pilrig
550	99	2899	1	of Pitmilly
551	99	2899	1	of Pittencrief
552	99	2899	1	of Powder Hall
553	99	2899	1	of Powfoulis
555	99	2899	1	of Ravelrig
560	99	2899	1	of Sawmills
564	99	2899	1	of Shanwell
566	99	2899	1	of St. Bernard's
567	99	2899	1	of Techmuiry
570	99	2899	1	of Westwood
571	99	2899	1	of Whitehill
572	99	2899	2	of Whytbank
642	99	9900	1	residenter
813	99	2899	1	yr. of Pilrig

Occupation coded by 'production'

I. D.	ORG.	PROD.	FREQ.	TITLE
				1. AGRICULTURE
214	10	100	18	farmer
215	10	101	1	farmer (heritable subjects near Portland Place)
391	10	102	1	late farmer
392	10	102	1	late farmer (Westerhall Cot.)
183	10	103	27	dairyman
170	10	103	40	cowfeeder
171	10	104	1	cowfeeder (& byre Heriot Mount, Hercles Street)
335	10	105	1	jun. cowfeeder
389	10	106	1	late cowfeeder
226	10	107	1	forrester
266	10	108	1	grazr. (Spring Val. Villa)
96	30	109	3	cattle salesman
94	47	111	4	cattle agent
95	31	112	1	cattle dealer
377	60	115	1	land steward
378	60	116	2	land surveyor
379	60	117	1	land valuator
671	30	118	10	seedsman
237	11	119	40	gardener
238	11	120	2	gardener (Newington gardens)
239	11	121	1	gardener, Bainfield
380	11	122	1	landscape gardener
477	11	123	6	nurseryman
609	10	124	2	portioner
742	10	125	2	tacksman
288	31	131	1	horse dealer
164	31	135	3	corn dealer
264	31	136	1	grain dealer
445	31	137	4	meal dealer
167	45	140	20	corn merchant
168	45	141	1	corn merchant (house and office, Lauder Park)
169	45	142	1	corn mrcht (Greenhill Gar.)
165	47	143	2	corn factor
166	47	144	1	corn factor, (Lochrin Mills)
334	45	145	1	jun. corn merchant
265	45	146	1	grain merchant
339	45	147	1	jun. grain merchant

670	45	148	7	seed merchant
676	45	149	1	sen. corn merchant
287	47	150	1	hop and seed agent
643	65	156	1	riddle maker
216	55	170	3	farrier

2. FOOD, DRINK & TOBACCO

31	30	200	163	baker
323	30	201	2	jun. baker
32	30	202	1	baker and confectioner
340	30	206	2	jun. grocer
268	30	207	248	grocer
393	30	208	2	late grocer
267	30	209	3	green grocer
68	30	210	7	butcher
338	30	211	2	jun. flesher
612	30	212	6	poulterer
222	30	213	97	flesher
332	30	214	2	jun. confectioner
153	30	215	33	confectioner
154	30	216	1	confectioner, refresh. rooms
622	45	217	22	provision merchant
621	31	217	10	provision dealer
220	30	218	6	fishmonger
232	30	219	16	fruiterer
230	31	220	1	fruit mer. Regent Arch
231	31	221	2	fruit merchant
207	31	222	1	egg.mer.Scott's Entry
269	30	225	3	grocer & spirit dealer
401	30	230	1	late tobacconist
763	50	231	7	tobacco manufacturer
765	30	234	37	tobacconist
764	45	235	1	tobacco merchant
361	30	237	1	jun. tobacconist
705	45	238	1	small ware merchant
626	30	239	1	purveyor
457	50	243	7	miller
458	50	244	4	millmaster
163	31	245	1	corn chandler
796	31	246	1	wax chandler
785	31	250	64	victual dealer
638	50	255	1	rectifier
748	45	260	12	tea merchant
136	45	261	2	coffee merchant
757	30	262	3	temp. coffee-house keeper
758	30	263	1	temperance hotel

759	30	264	1	temperance hotel keeper
135	30	265	8	coffee house keeper
710	55	266	1	soda water maker
732	47	267	1	sugar agent
711	50	268	2	soda water manufacturer
788	30	269	2	vintner
747	31	270	17	tea dealer
204	30	271	2	eatinghouse keeper
428	30	272	5	lodging-house keeper
635	30	273	1	railway sta. hotel keeper
427	30	274	1	lodging keeper
343	30	275	1	jun. hotel keeper
299	30	276	7	innkeeper
97	30	277	1	cellarman
296	30	278	1	house proprietor
291	30	279	30	hotel keeper
713	31	280	187	spirit dealer
746	30	281	19	tavern keeper
623	30	282	1	publican
714	45	283	68	spirit merchant
436	50	284	1	maltster
314	45	285	1	Jn. wine & sprt. mert.
801	45	286	50	wine merchant
803	45	287	1	wine merchant, (Drumnd. Crt.)
802	45	288	1	wine merchant (B.Lodge)
367	45	289	1	jun. wine merchant
800	45	290	4	wine & spirit merchant
57	50	291	37	brewer
58	50	292	1	brewer, brewery
59	50	293	3	brewery
193	30	294	1	draff-salesman
192	50	295	2	distiller
327	50	296	1	jun. brewery
786	30	297	8	victualler
577	50	298	1	operative brewer
439	51	299	1	manager of wine company

3. MINES, QUARRIES & OTHER EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES

133	51	300	4	coal master
138	20	301	1	Collier
132	47	310	9	coal agent
134	45	315	25	coal merchant
727	45	316	1	stone merchant
728	45	317	1	stoneware merchant
359	45	318	1	jun. stone merchant
461	60	340	2	mining engineer

4. GLASS & POTTERY

250	31	400	1	glass dealer
251	50	401	1	glass manufacturer
249	55	405	4	glass cutter
253	55	405	2	glasscutter
254	55	407	5	glazier
252	45	409	2	glass merchant
311	55	425	3	japanner
103	45	430	23	china merchant
595	55	440	2	pewterer

5. CHEMICALS

709	50	503	1	soap manufacturer
200	65	504	8	drysalter
787	55	505	1	vinegar maker
199	30	510	23	druggist
390	30	520	1	late druggist
21	60	520	1	apothecary
100	60	525	13	chemist
101	60	527	3	chemist and druggist
814	50	538	1	zinc manufact.
576	45	540	1	oil merchant

6. LEATHER

405	31	600	3	leather factor
404	55	601	1	leather cutter
406	45	605	13	leather merchant
745	55	610	5	tanner
700	30	630	7	skinner
701	30	630	1	skinner (office & c.)
355	30	632	1	jun. skinner
653	55	637	20	saddler
174	55	647	14	currier
175	55	648	1	currier, (Baird's Close)

7. METALS

307	30	700	49	ironmonger
233	30	703	1	furng. ironmr.
280	45	705	1	hardware merchant
305	45	707	3	iron merchant
454	31	709	2	metal dealer
438	51	711	1	manager for C.D. Young & Co.

91	46	712	1	cashier to C.D. Young & Co.
6	50	713	1	(of C.D. Young & Co.)
306	50	714	4	ironfounder
326	50	715	1	jun. brassfounder
54	50	716	25	brassfounder
674	55	717	1	sen. brassfounder
55	55	718	25	brassfounder
473	50	719	1	New Panmure Foundry
585	50	719	1	Panmure Foundry
625	50	720	1	punch cutter
719	50	722	1	stamp cutter
190	55	723	1	die and stamp cutter
191	55	724	3	die cutter
106	50	730	23	civil engineer
723	55	731	1	steelyard maker
761	55	732	1	tinplater
762	55	733	6	tinsmith
20	47	734	1	agent for Falkirk Iron Co.
715	55	735	1	spur maker
455	45	736	2	metal merchant
433	55	737	6	machine maker
456	55	738	2	metal refiner
766	55	739	1	tool cutter
804	55	740	4	wire worker
767	55	741	1	tool maker Aitken's Land
778	55	742	6	turner
176	55	743	7	cutler
158	55	744	10	cooper
656	55	745	1	saw maker
769	55	746	1	toolmaker
248	55	747	1	gilder
160	55	749	2	coppersmith
257	55	750	1	gold beater
356	55	751	1	jun. smith
159	55	752	1	cooper and fish curer
258	55	753	12	goldsmith
768	50	754	2	tool manufacturer
117	55	755	2	clockmaker
208	55	756	1	enameller
210	55	757	46	engraver
337	50	758	1	jun. engineer
209	50	759	13	engineer
270	55	760	8	gunmaker
271	55	761	2	gunsmith
341	55	762	1	jun. gunmaker
677	55	763	1	sen. gunmaker
697	55	764	1	silver chaser

698	55	765	1	silverplate
354	55	766	1	jun. silver plater
699	55	767	9	silversmith
794	55	768	1	watch-casemaker
365	55	769	2	jun. watchmaker
795	55	770	31	watchmaker
426	55	775	1	locksmith
46	55	780	14	blacksmith
706	55	783	33	smith
707	55	784	1	smith (Mint,)
708	55	785	1	smith, (& 17 Canning Pl.)
298	55	790	1	implementmaker
304	55	791	3	instrument maker
402	55	793	1	lath-splitter

8. GENERAL MANUFACTURER

442	50	800	18	manufactuer
376	50	820	1	lamp manufacturer

9. TEXTILES

289	30	900	23	hosier
119	50	901	98	clothier
342	30	902	1	jun. hosier
675	50	903	1	sen. clothier
797	50	905	2	weaver
118	47	906	1	cloth agent
807	30	907	9	woollen draper
806	45	908	1	wool merchant
194	30	910	89	draper
336	30	911	1	jun. draper
290	30	912	1	hosier and glover
418	30	915	7	linen draper
420	30	915	1	linendraper
375	30	920	4	laceman
142	55	924	7	comb maker
143	50	925	2	comb manufacturer
152	50	926	5	compositor
82	45	929	1	carpet warehouseman
223	31	930	1	floor cloth dealer
81	45	931	1	carpet merchant
647	55	933	2	ropemaker
646	55	934	1	rope spinner
645	45	935	1	rope merchant
224	45	936	1	floor cloth merchant
695	50	937	4	silk dyer

362	30	938	1	jun. upholsterer
782	30	939	50	upholsterer
809	31	940	1	worsted dealer
419	45	941	1	linen warhouse
651	50	942	2	sack manufacturer
652	50	942	1	sacking manufacturer
432	55	943	3	macer
387	50	948	1	late clothr.
330	50	949	3	jun. clothier
696	30	950	20	silk mercer
374	45	951	4	lace merchant
221	50	952	1	flax dresser
366	55	956	1	jun. weaver
590	55	957	1	pattern designer
722	55	959	6	staymaker
80	50	960	2	carpet manufacturer
775	45	970	4	trimming merchant
201	50	976	10	dyer
202	50	977	1	dyer (& 64 Potterow)
373	50	989	2	lace manufacturer

10. CLOTHING

256	30	1001	1	glover
283	30	1002	1	hatters salesman
282	30	1003	21	hatter
281	50	1004	5	hat manufacturer
275	30	1005	8	haberdasher
730	55	1005	1	straw hat maker
579	30	1006	1	Outfitter
686	45	1008	1	shawl merchant
272	55	1009	1	gutta percha shoemr.
325	30	1010	3	jun. bootmaker
690	45	1011	3	shoe merchant
399	55	1013	1	late shoemaker
51	55	1015	3	boot closer
691	55	1018	102	shoemaker
53	55	1019	1	bow maker
313	30	1020	52	jeweller
344	30	1021	1	jun. jeweller
382	55	1022	9	lapidary
808	55	1023	1	working jeweller
450	30	1029	3	mercer
685	50	1030	2	shawl manufacturer
52	55	1031	88	bootmaker
780	50	1035	1	umbrella manufacturer
673	55	1038	2	sen. bootmaker

235	55	1045	3	furrier
70	55	1048	1	buttonmaker
743	55	1050	95	tailor
744	55	1055	5	tailor and clothier
678	55	1057	1	sen. tailor
56	55	1065	2	breeches maker

11. TIMBER

368	45	1100	1	jun. wood merchant
805	45	1103	7	wood merchant
79	55	1110	3	carpenter
657	55	1111	1	sawyer
403	55	1112	1	lather
28	55	1113	1	axle maker
581	55	1125	1	packing case maker
776	55	1126	6	trunk maker
312	55	1128	3	jewel case maker
64	50	1130	1	brush & trunk manufacturer
66	50	1131	2	brush manufacturer
316	55	1137	30	joiner
211	55	1138	1	engraver on wood
161	55	1140	3	cork cutter
162	50	1142	1	cork manufacturer
189	55	1154	1	dftsman & joiner
292	55	1156	1	house carpenter
73	55	1164	95	cabinet maker
383	55	1164	1	late beam maker
65	55	1167	6	brush maker
689	55	1168	1	ship carpenter
386	55	1174	2	late cabinetmaker
333	55	1178	1	jun. cork cutter
47	55	1180	1	boat builder
777	50	1184	2	trunk manufacturer
198	55	1198	2	dressingcase maker

12. PAPER & PRINTING

50	30	1200	104	bookseller
205	66	1201	1	ed. Edinburgh Guardian
206	66	1202	4	editor
350	66	1203	1	jun. publisher
411	66	1204	1	letterpress printer
421	66	1205	1	literary editor
422	66	1206	10	lithographer
497	66	1207	1	of Caledn. Mer. Office
498	66	1207	1	of Caledonian Mercury

508	66	1208	1	of Courant Office
545	66	1209	1	of North British Advertiser
324	30	1210	6	jun. bookseller
384	30	1211	1	late bookseller
614	55	1215	89	printer
562	66	1218	1	of Scotsman
563	66	1218	1	of Scotsman Office
641	66	1220	1	reporter
624	66	1225	14	publisher
475	51	1227	3	newspaper proprietor
587	45	1228	1	paper merchant
615	30	1230	7	printseller
212	55	1235	2	envelope maker
679	30	1240	2	senior bookseller
347	55	1247	1	jun. paper maker
357	30	1250	1	jun. stationer
721	30	1251	46	stationer
629	45	1253	1	quill merchant
474	47	1268	1	newspaper agent
724	55	1270	1	stereotype founder
779	50	1273	8	typefounder
409	55	1273	1	letterfounder
410	55	1274	1	letterfounder smith
349	55	1275	2	jun. printer
586	55	1280	9	paper maker
588	55	1285	1	paper ruler
589	55	1286	4	paper stainer
48	55	1290	23	bookbinder
661	65	1291	1	sec. Ed. Com. of Free Church
607	55	1299	2	pocket-book maker

13. CONSTRUCTION & REPAIRS

67	70	1301	77	builder
328	70	1302	1	jun. builder
703	70	1303	3	slater
704	70	1304	1	slater Roxh. Cl.
726	55	1312	1	stone carver
603	50	1313	2	pipe manufacturer
702	50	1314	1	slate manufacturer
606	55	1315	34	plumber
604	55	1320	16	plasterer
605	55	1321	1	plastr. (see 12 Gardners Cres.)
87	55	1331	12	Carver
88	55	1332	4	carver and gilder
466	55	1338	2	moulder
60	55	1340	2	bricklayer

398	55	1343	1	late painter
295	55	1350	4	house painter
297	55	1350	1	house-painter
582	55	1351	72	painter
584	55	1352	1	painter in Simpson's Court
583	55	1353	1	painter and glazier
810	55	1355	50	wright
459	55	1356	6	millwright
443	55	1364	2	marble cutter
348	55	1367	1	jun. plasterer
444	55	1370	14	mason

14. TRANSPORT

2	40	1400	1	(coachhouse)
7	40	1401	1	(stable & coach ho.)
9	40	1401	1	(Stables & c.)
8	40	1403	2	(stable)
10	40	1404	1	(stables)
424	40	1404	1	livery stabler
716	40	1406	5	stabler
717	40	1407	1	stabler (Lane)
423	40	1408	1	livery stable keeper
124	50	1409	1	coach lamp manufacturer
83	55	1410	1	carriage maker
125	55	1411	10	coach maker
127	55	1412	1	coach spring maker
84	40	1413	3	carrier
121	55	1417	12	coach builder
128	55	1418	1	coach trimmer
608	65	1419	4	porter
85	40	1420	2	carter
261	51	1421	1	goods supt. Cal. Rail.
634	51	1423	1	railway goods manager
434	65	1423	2	mail guard
720	51	1424	1	station mr. E. & G. Rly.
733	51	1425	1	superintend. of Ry. Station
734	51	1426	3	superintendant
654	55	1428	1	sailmaker
644	96	1430	1	road surveyor
741	96	1432	1	surveyor of roads
86	40	1440	1	cartwright
453	65	1440	7	messenger
130	55	1444	1	coachwright
197	40	1465	1	drayman
122	40	1470	1	coach driver
129	40	1472	7	coachman

388	40	1474	1	late coachman
476	40	1479	1	noddy hirer
123	40	1480	20	coach hirer
126	40	1482	4	coach proprietor
331	55	1487	1	jun. coach builder
554	65	1490	1	of Railway Company
633	70	1491	1	railway contractor
632	47	1492	6	railway agent

15. BUSINESS & FINANCIAL SERVICES

36	46	1500	13	banker
34	46	1501	3	Bank of Scotland
484	46	1501	8	of Bank of Scotland
61	46	1502	1	Brit. Lin. Co. Bank
62	46	1503	4	British Linen Co.
140	46	1504	1	Com. Bank
146	46	1504	1	Commercial Bank
506	46	1504	9	of Commercial Bank
482	46	1505	2	of B. L. bank
483	46	1505	1	of B. Linen Company
491	46	1505	1	of British Lin. Co.
492	46	1505	1	of British Linen Bank
493	46	1505	2	of British Linen Co.
494	46	1505	1	of British Linen Company
518	46	1506	1	of E. and G. Bank
520	46	1506	1	of Edin. and Glasgow Bank
523	46	1507	1	of Equitable Loan Company
539	46	1507	1	of Loan Company
557	46	1508	1	of Royal Bank
648	46	1508	1	Royal Bank
544	46	1509	8	of National Bank
63	46	1510	32	broker
353	46	1511	2	jun. sharebroker
358	46	1512	1	jun. stockbroker
568	46	1513	2	of Union Bank
561	46	1514	1	of Scot. Equitable Society
684	46	1515	3	sharebroker
89	46	1516	1	cashier Bank of Scot
90	46	1521	1	cashier of Scot. Wid. Fund
33	65	1523	10	bank messenger
35	65	1524	1	bank porter
725	46	1525	16	stockbroker
591	31	1527	12	pawnbroker
22	60	1530	2	appraiser
772	47	1540	13	traveller
663	65	1540	1	Sec. Scot. Equitable Co.

773	47	1541	1	traveller (Oakfield House)
774	47	1542	1	travr. (Spring Val. Villa)
149	47	1543	20	commission agent
150	47	1545	1	commission agent (1 Farquharson Place)
449	47	1546	1	mercantile agent
141	47	1547	1	com.traveller
147	47	1547	17	commercial traveller
145	47	1549	7	commercial agent
14	60	1550	143	Accountant
116	48	1551	1	clerk, Union Bank
754	48	1553	8	teller
755	48	1554	1	teller Brit. Lin. Co. Bank
756	48	1555	1	teller National Bank
664	65	1565	1	sec. Scot. Prov. Inst.
665	65	1566	1	sec. Union Bank
666	65	1567	1	Sec.Scot.Prov.Inst
111	48	1568	1	clerk Bank of Scotland
151	45	1569	4	commission merchant
27	31	1570	19	Auctioneer
792	45	1575	1	warehouse
793	45	1576	15	warehouseman
320	47	1579	1	jun. agent
15	47	1580	1	advertising agent
19	47	1581	53	agent
244	47	1582	2	general agent
260	47	1583	1	goods agent
440	51	1584	1	manager Scot. Prov. Inst.
441	51	1585	1	mangr. of Cal. Loan Co.
293	47	1586	4	house agent
580	50	1587	1	overseer
294	47	1589	2	house factor
451	45	1590	273	merchant
137	47	1591	5	collector
345	45	1592	6	jun. merchant
452	45	1593	1	merchant (Court)
394	45	1595	6	late merchant

16. NATIONAL GOVT.

302	95	1601	2	inspector of poor
303	95	1602	1	inspector of schools
396	95	1603	1	late of Customs
397	95	1604	3	late of Excise
525	95	1605	1	of Exchequer
627	95	1606	1	Queen's messanger
628	95	1607	1	Queen's Remembrancer

17. LOCAL GOVT.

115	48	1701	1	clerk, Police Court
105	96	1701	1	city officer
113	96	1702	1	clerk of Police
114	96	1703	2	clerk of Works
181	96	1704	1	D.G. of Isle
188	96	1705	1	deputy-commis. general
504	96	1706	1	of City Chambers
155	65	1710	1	constable
740	96	1710	9	surveyor
263	51	1735	1	governor of prison
262	51	1736	1	governor
300	51	1740	3	inspector
735	51	1745	1	supt. of Court House

18. DEFENCE

76	97	1801	42	captain
77	97	1802	1	captain H.E.I.C.S.
139	97	1804	11	colonel
144	97	1805	1	commander
148	97	1806	1	commissary general
243	97	1808	1	general
274	97	1809	8	H.E.I.C.S.
346	97	1810	1	jun. messenger at arms
414	97	1811	5	lieut. col.
415	97	1812	7	lieutenant
417	97	1813	1	lieutenant R. N.
435	97	1814	19	major
478	97	1815	1	of Adjutant's Office
574	97	1816	1	officer
592	97	1817	1	paymaster
559	97	1820	1	of Royal Navy
78	97	1821	1	captain R.N.
718	61	1822	1	staff surgeon
593	97	1822	1	paymaster, R.N.
630	97	1823	3	R.N.
739	61	1825	2	surgeon R.N.
636	97	1825	1	rear admiral
649	97	1826	1	royal marines

19. PUBLIC UTILITIES

241	50	1900	1	gas meter manufacturer
203	65	1903	1	E. and L. Gas Co.

112	48	1930	1	clerk Edin. & L. Gas Co.
301	51	1935	1	inspector Edinr. Gas Co.
240	55	1938	1	gas meter maker
528	51	1939	1	of Gas Company
569	51	1940	2	of Water Company
242	55	1942	3	gasfitter
669	65	1980	1	See. Edin. & Leith Gas Co.

20. RELIGION

37	63	2000	1	baptist minister
38	63	2001	1	Baptist missionary
71	63	2002	7	C. E.
92	63	2003	1	Catholic Bishop
93	63	2004	1	catholic clergyman
99	63	2005	2	chaplain
104	63	2006	3	city missionary
108	63	2007	3	clergyman
179	63	2008	24	D.D.
180	63	2009	1	D.D. (Arthur Lodge)
395	63	2010	1	late minister
462	63	2011	72	minister
463	63	2012	1	minister (Kilmuir House)
464	63	2013	5	missionary
682	63	2014	1	sess. clk. of St Cuthberts
683	63	2015	2	session clerk

21. LAW

18	48	2100	1	advocates clerk
16	62	2101	171	advocate
17	62	2102	1	advocate (Woodburn)
319	62	2103	3	jun. advocate
186	62	2120	1	dep. clerk of Session
187	62	2125	1	dep. dr. of Chancery
425	62	2130	10	LL. D.
680	62	2137	1	sergeant
616	62	2138	1	probationer
309	62	2140	1	j.p. constable
416	62	2141	1	lieutenant of police
712	62	2147	22	solicitor
369	62	2148	6	jun. writer
364	62	2149	1	jun. W.S. (B.Brae)
363	62	2150	19	jun. W.S.
789	62	2152	370	W. S.
790	62	2153	1	W.S. (& coach house)
811	62	2154	204	writer

812	62	2160	9	writing master
650	62	2170	147	S.S.C
351	62	2175	4	jun. S.S.C.
371	64	2180	1	L.L.D. teacher
688	62	2188	3	sheriff officer
687	62	2189	2	Sheriff Clerk's Office
429	62	2190	1	Lord of Session
72	62	2196	1	C.S.
178	62	2197	3	D.C.S.
637	62	2199	3	recorder

22. MEDICINE

245	61	2201	1	general practitioner
430	61	2205	132	M. D.
431	61	2206	1	M.D. (College of Surgeons)
360	61	2210	2	jun. surgeon
400	61	2211	1	late surgeon
736	61	2212	77	surgeon
737	61	2213	1	surgeon (Parkside House)
597	61	2215	4	physician
213	61	2216	1	F.R.C.P.
446	61	2230	1	medical galvanist
447	61	2235	1	medical herbalist
448	61	2240	1	medical student

23. GENERAL PROFESSIONAL SERVICES

278	30	2301	1	haircutter
279	30	2301	19	hairdresser
49	48	2303	9	bookkeeper
109	48	2310	77	clerk
110	48	2311	1	clerk (Jordanburn)
329	48	2312	1	jun. clerk
573	48	2315	1	office keeper
784	61	2320	6	veterinary surgeon
738	61	2330	2	surgeon dentist
98	51	2340	1	chairman
437	51	2345	1	Man. S. P. Inst.
195	55	2350	2	draughtsman
23	60	2354	27	architect
321	60	2355	2	jun. architect
185	60	2360	20	dentist
156	65	2365	4	contractor
157	65	2366	1	contractor (Heriot C.)

24. EDUCATION

749	64	2400	85	teacher
107	64	2401	1	classical teacher
227	64	2402	1	French master
229	64	2403	1	French teacher
407	64	2404	1	lecturer
620	64	2404	2	professor of music
468	64	2405	3	music teacher
617	64	2406	12	professor
618	64	2407	1	professor of astronomy
619	64	2408	1	professor of German
613	64	2410	1	Principal of University
750	64	2410	1	teacher (Westerhall Villa)
751	64	2411	3	teacher of dancing
752	64	2412	1	teacher of mathematics
753	64	2413	8	teacher of music
639	64	2420	1	rector, Normal School
731	64	2490	3	student
29	64	2491	1	B. student

25. MISC. SERVICES

408	45	2510	1	leech importer
660	55	2515	5	seal engraver
798	50	2517	2	whip manufacturer
467	30	2520	2	music seller
471	30	2521	10	musicseller
599	45	2522	1	pianoforte merchant
558	31	2525	1	of royal bazaar
228	65	2528	1	french polisher
218	60	2529	1	fencing master
611	65	2530	5	postmaster
255	55	2531	1	globe maker
196	60	2532	2	drawing master
259	55	2533	1	golf-ball maker
781	55	2534	4	umbrellamaker
284	55	2535	2	heraldie engraver
783	55	2536	1	venetian blind maker
631	65	2537	1	Racket Court keeper
285	55	2538	1	historical painter
74	55	2539	2	candlemaker
322	55	2540	1	jun. artist
799	55	2541	1	wigmaker
381	55	2542	2	landscape painter
460	55	2543	1	miniature painter
352	55	2544	1	jun. sculptor
219	55	2545	3	fishing tackle maker

594	30	2546	3	perfumer
184	31	2547	1	dealer in paintings
41	65	2548	1	bath-keeper
601	31	2549	4	picture dealer
276	50	2550	2	hair manufacturer
42	65	2551	4	bell hanger
172	31	2552	1	crystal dealer
43	65	2553	1	bell hanger (Hill Mount)
575	45	2554	1	oil and colour merchant
598	55	2555	8	pianoforte maker
234	31	2556	19	furniture dealer
469	55	2557	2	musical instrument maker
44	65	2558	1	bird stuffer
470	55	2559	3	musician
75	65	2560	1	canine repository
610	55	2561	10	portrait painter
24	55	2562	1	artificial flower maker
600	55	2563	1	picture cleaner
30	55	2564	1	bagpipe maker
225	55	2565	1	flower maker
602	55	2566	2	picture framer
40	55	2567	4	basket maker
25	65	2568	18	artist
26	65	2569	2	artist's colourman
385	65	2570	1	late butler
69	65	2571	3	butler
659	55	2572	5	sculptor
247	65	2573	1	gentleman's servant
310	65	2574	1	janitor
372	65	2575	1	labourer
102	65	2576	2	chimney sweeper
681	65	2577	11	servant
277	45	2578	1	hair merchant
173	61	2579	1	cupper
217	45	2580	1	feather merchant
596	55	2581	2	photographer
370	65	2582	1	keeper of Lib. Hall, Coll.
667	65	2583	1	secy. of Bible Society
668	65	2584	1	secy. of Edinr. Bible Society
412	65	2585	2	librarian
662	65	2586	1	Sec. Phil. Inst.
413	65	2587	1	librarian, Philos Inst.
565	65	2588	1	of Signet Library
488	65	2589	1	of Blind Asylum
521	65	2590	1	of Edinburgh Cemetery
658	65	2591	1	Scottish Academy
556	65	2592	2	of Register House

640	65	2593	1	register house
791	65	2594	1	waiter
578	65	2595	8	optician

26. GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

655	30	2600	3	salesman
692	30	2601	4	shopkeeper
693	30	2602	7	shopman
694	30	2603	1	shopowner
729	30	2604	1	storekeeper
770	31	2640	1	toy dealer
771	45	2641	1	toy merchant

27. INDEPENDENT INCOME

39	90	2701	7	Bart.
246	90	2702	1	gentleman
273	90	2703	1	H.D. of Prestnfld. Bart.

28. NO OCCUPATIONAL TITLE

3	99	2899	1	(Coll. Lib. Hall)
4	99	2899	1	(Drum. St Crt.)
12	99	2899	8	A.C.S.
13	99	2899	1	A.M.
45	99	2899	1	Blackford Lodge
177	99	2899	1	D.C.J.
182	99	2899	2	D.K.S.
236	99	2899	1	G.H.
308	99	2899	1	J. G.
317	99	2899	2	JT
318	99	2899	8	jun.
465	99	2899	1	Morocco's Land
472	99	2899	1020	n./a.
479	99	2899	1	of Aldbar
480	99	2899	1	of Ardeer
481	99	2899	1	of Arkleton
485	99	2899	1	of Binny
486	99	2899	1	of Black Castle
487	99	2899	1	of Blair Drumd.
489	99	2899	1	of Bognie
490	99	2899	1	of Bowland
495	99	2899	1	of Burnhead
496	99	2899	1	of Calderhall
499	99	2899	1	of Camelon
500	99	2899	1	of Carcant
501	99	2899	1	of Cargen

502	99	2899	1	of Castlehuntly
503	99	2899	1	of Chisholm
505	99	2899	1	of Clober
507	99	2899	1	of Corrymony
509	99	2899	1	of Craiglockhart
510	99	2899	1	of Crieff
511	99	2899	1	of Culterallers
512	99	2899	1	of Dalruscan
513	99	2899	1	of Dean
514	99	2899	1	of Denniston
515	99	2899	1	of Dreghorn
516	99	2899	1	of Duchally
517	99	2899	1	of Duchray
519	99	2899	1	of Easter Bush
522	99	2899	1	of Edmonstone
524	99	2899	1	of Ettrick Bank
526	99	2899	1	of Firth
527	99	2899	1	of Fullerton & Co.
529	99	2899	1	of Gilmerton
530	99	2899	1	of Glasslie
531	99	2899	1	of Glendouran
532	99	2899	1	of Gogar Burn
533	99	2899	1	of Grange
534	99	2899	1	of Kemback
535	99	2899	1	of Lamanca
536	99	2899	1	of Laretburn
537	99	2899	1	of Leitchton
538	99	2899	1	of Lethangie
540	99	2899	1	of Marlie
541	99	2899	1	of Morphie
542	99	2899	1	of Morton
543	99	2899	1	of Mortonhall
546	99	2899	1	of Ochtertyre
547	99	2899	1	of Orrok
548	99	2899	2	of Overmains
549	99	2899	1	of Pilrig
550	99	2899	1	of Pitmilly
551	99	2899	1	of Pittencrief
552	99	2899	1	of Powder Hall
553	99	2899	1	of Powfoulis
555	99	2899	1	of Ravelrig
560	99	2899	1	of Sawmills
564	99	2899	1	of Shanwell
566	99	2899	1	of St. Bernard's
567	99	2899	1	of Techmuiry
570	99	2899	1	of Westwood
571	99	2899	1	of Whitehill

572	99	2899	2	of Whytbank
813	99	2899	1	yr. of Pilrig

99. UNCLASSIFIED

760	50	9900	1	tertius manufacturer
120	65	9900	1	club master
642	65	9900	1	residenter

Appendix 5

List of Societies and Associations in Edinburgh derived from Oliver & Boyd's New Edinburgh Almanac (1854)

"Section II Religious Institutions"

Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge
Lay Association in Support of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland
Scottish Bible Society
Scottish Ladies' Association for the Advancement of female Education in India
Female Association of the Free Church for the Promoting Christian Education among the Females of India
Ladies' Association for Promoting Christian Education of Jewish Females
Ladies' Continental Association
Scottish Missionary Society
Society for the support of Gaelic Schools
Ladies' Association for the Support of Gaelic Schools
Baptist Home Mission Society for Scotland
The Friendly Society of Ministers in connexion with the U. P. Church
Society in Scotland for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor
Society for the Sons of Clergy
Widows Fund of the Church and the Universities of Scotland
Scottish Monthly Tract Society
Scottish Ladies' Association for Promoting Female Industrial Education in Scotland, especially in the Highlands and Islands
Dissenting Minister' Widows' Fund
Scottish Anti-State Church Association
The Sabbath Alliance

Miscellaneous Religious and Missionary Societies

Edinburgh Bible Society
Edinburgh Auxiliary to the Irish Evangelical Society
Edinburgh Auxiliary to the London Missionary Society
Edinburgh Auxiliary Bible Society
Edinburgh Mission in aid of the Moravian Missions
Edinburgh Church of England Missionary Association
Edinburgh Auxiliary Naval and Military Society
Edinburgh Ladies' Association
Edinburgh City Mission
Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society
Edinburgh Total Abstinence Society
Edinburgh Continental Association
Scottish Reformation Society
Evangelical Alliance - Edinburgh subdivision
Edinburgh Gratis Sabbath School Society
Edinburgh Religious Tract Society
Edinburgh Sabbath School Teacher's Union
Edinburgh & Leith Seaman's Friend Society
Anti-Oath Association
British League of Juvenile Abstainers
Edinburgh Irish Mission
Scripture Readers in the Old Town
National Protestant Association
Scottish Protestant Alliance
Parochial Mission for the Employment of Scripture Readers
Society for the Due Observance of the Lord's Day

Appendix 6

"Section V Benevolent and Charitable Institutions"

George Heriot's Hospital
George Watson's Hospital
John Watson's Hospital
Trinity Hospital
The Orphan Hospital
The Maiden Hospital
Cauvin's Hospital, Duddingston
James Gillespie's Hospital and Free School
Fettes' Endowment
Chalmers' Hospital
Donaldson's Hospital
Stewart's Hospital
Edinburgh School for the Blind
The Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf & Blind
Edinburgh Deaf & Benevolent Society
Society for the Industrious Blind
House of Industry and Servant's Home
Edinburgh Ladies' Female Emigrant Association
Edinburgh Association for Improving the Lodgings of the Labouring Classes
Dean Bank Institution
Society for the Relief of the Destitute Sick
House of Refuge and Night Refuge, Queensberry House
Night Asylum for the Houseless Poor
Edinburgh Benevolent & Stranger's Friend Society
Magdalen Asylum
The Shelter
Institution for the Relief of Incurables
Senior Female Society
Charitable or Junior Female Society
Edinburgh Society for the Relief of Indigent Old Men
Mortification by the late Joseph Thomson
Craigrook Mortification
Society in Edinburgh for Clothing the Industrious Poor
Parochial Boards of Managers of the Poor
Fund of Scottish Masonic Benevolence
Edinburgh Aberdeenshire Club
Edinburgh Morayshire Club
Edinburgh Morayshire Mechanic's Society
Edinburgh Caithness Association
Edinburgh Upper-Ward of Lanarkshire Association
Edinburgh Galloway Association
Edinburgh Angus Club
Orkney and Shetland Charitable Society
Social Peeblean Society
Edinburgh Kinross-shire Association
Royal Infirmary
Eye-Dispensary of Edinburgh
Eye Infirmary of Edinburgh
Royal Edinburgh Lunatic Asylum
Royal Public Dispensary
New Town Dispensary
Royal Maternity Hospital
Edinburgh Living-In Institution
Edinburgh General Dispensary and Living-in Institution
Society for the relief of Poor Married Women of Respectable Character with ... ...

Scottish Register & Home Institution for Domestic Servants
Society for the Relief of Poor Married Women.

"Section IV Scientific and Literary Societies."

The Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh
Royal Medical School
Harvein Society
Associated Society of the University of Edinburgh
Scots Law Society
Hunterian Medical Society
Dialectic Society
Edinburgh Obstetrical Society
Medico-Chirurgical Society
Pharmaceutical Society of Great Britain
Edinburgh Geological Society
Juridical Society
Phrenological Society
University Missionary Society
Theological Library College
Theological Society
Speculative Society
The Eclectic Society of the Philosophical Institution
Edinburgh Subscription Library
Edinburgh Select Subscription Library
Edinburgh Mechanics Subscription Library
Iona Club
Ladies' Emancipation Society
Medico-Statistical Society
Scottish Association for Opposing Prevalent Errors
Woodrow Society

"Section VI Commercial Establishments."

Merchant Company
Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Manufacture
Edinburgh Water Company
Scottish Trade Protection Society
Royal Bank of Scotland
British Linen Bank
Commercial Bank
National Bank
Union Bank of Scotland
Edinburgh & Glasgow Bank
Bank of Scotland

Appendix 7

Decimalised Shillings

12 pence (12d) = 1 shilling.

20 shillings (20/-) = 1 pound.

E.g.

Two shillings and six pence (2/6) = 2.5 'decimal' shillings.

One Pound two shillings and six pence (£1 2/6) = 22.5 'decimal' shillings.

Appendix 8

Table 7.5

Coded Voting Pairs
1852 General Election

11	Macaulay	Cowan	19	Cowan	
12	Macaulay	McLaren	20	McLaren	Bruce
13	Macaulay	Bruce	21	McLaren	Campbell
14	Macaulay	Campbell	22	McLaren	
15	Macaulay		23	Bruce	Campbell
16	Cowan	McLaren	24	Bruce	
17	Cowan	Bruce	25	Campbell	
18	Cowan	Campbell	26	No Vote	

Appendix 9

Successful Linkage between Selected Nominal Lists & the 1852/4 Edinburgh Pollbook

(Showing numbers linked, nominal list size, percentage linked, and a brief explanation for main causes of failed linkages)

Nominal List (year)	Linked (N)	List (N)	Linked (%)	Explanation of failed linkage to 1852/4 pollbook
Apprentice School (1848)	67	183	36.61	Average fit; low status subs failed to be linked
New Club (c.1854)	90	774	11.62	High country elite; unlinkable to pollbook
Total Abstinence Society (1853)	642	1589	40.40	Good fit; low subs failed to be linked
Female Delinquency (1857)	49	297	16.50	High female subs; unlinkable to pollbook
Industrial Blind (1857)	232	3145	7.38	Very high female sub; ditto
Ragged Schools (1857)	437	1181	37.0	Average fit; low subs failed to linked
Scottish Trade Protection (1858)	332	599	55.43	Good fit; range of subs replicated in pollbook
Philosophical Inst. (1857)	592	2081	28.45	Average fit; country subs unlinkable
Highland Destitution (1851)	658	2843	23.14	Average fit; Scotland wide subs unlinkable